

COUNTRY TOWNS IN THE FUTURE ENGLAND

*a report of the conference representing
local authorities
arts and amenities organizations
and members of
the Town and Country Planning Association
on the 23rd of October 1943*

edited by
STANLEY BARON

with an introduction by Sir Eric Macfadyen

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STATEMENT AND RESOLUTIONS

on the Future of the Country Town adopted by the Conference¹
representing Local Authorities, Arts and Amenities organiza-
tions, and members of the Town and Country Planning
Association on 23rd October 1943

1. The object of the Conference is to consider what part country towns should play in a national planning policy, and whether there is ground for united action in representations on planning policy to the Government, in making their viewpoint known to public opinion, and in other ways.

2. The policy advocated by the Association for reconstruction planning includes a check to the further settlement of industry and population in the larger and more congested cities; the redevelopment of the congested areas of such cities (beginning with their 'blitzed' areas) at a lower density and with more open space; and the reduction, over a period, of excessive concentrations of business and industry. This involves finding alternative sites for some of the nation's industry, business and people.

3. This policy is supported in principle by the Barlow Royal Commission, whose Report (1940) recommended the decentralization or dispersal of industries and industrial population from congested urban areas, and the encouragement of a reasonable balance of industrial development in the various regions of the country. The Commission proposed that it should be a first duty of a Central Planning Authority to consider (*inter alia*) the encouragement of development of new towns and industrial estates, and the further development of existing small towns, as recipients of the dispersed industries. The Government have stated that these recommendations and the steps necessary to give effect to them are under review. The Scott and Uthwatt Reports (1942) dealt with issues arising out of the same proposals, as touching on the interests of the agricultural countryside and the problems of compensation and betterment, and the three Reports are broadly consistent in policy.

4. The Association holds that, in general, decentralized or dis-

¹ Resolutions passed by the Conference appear on p. 134.

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persed industry should not be placed in small or isolated units in the countryside, but should preferably be grouped in moderate sized towns capable of providing adequate public services, social amenities, and community life; and that while some of the new developments should be newly-founded towns, a good many of them should take the form of extensions or additions to existing country towns which are not already too large and, being suitably placed, would welcome further industries or businesses. The Scott Report supports that view.

5. Experience and inquiries have shown that many factory industries can be efficiently carried on in small towns. There are also many offices or commercial businesses, of non-local character, that could with advantage be carried on in such towns, and a number of important firms and institutions are at present considering a 'decentralized' location.

6. No assumption is made that all existing small towns desire or are suitable for industrial or commercial expansion. There are some that are so placed, or have such a character, that developments of this kind may be unwelcome or even undesirable in the national as well as the local interest. It is recognized that each town must be studied in relation to its history and structure and the wishes of its inhabitants. There are, however, many cases in which the introduction of new enterprises would promote a better balance of activity and increase the prosperity and social welfare both of the town itself and of the surrounding countryside.

7. The national planning policy advocated by the Association would actively promote decentralization, by such methods as: restricting location of factories and offices in over-concentrated or congested cities; facilitating the development of good alternative locations; and positive inducements to firms to transfer to or establish themselves in such locations. It is suggested that the authorities of country towns should support such measures in the national interest and in their own; and should indicate the additional powers and financial facilities they would require in order to co-operate in it. The necessary measures would appear to include:

(a) Central approval of revised planning schemes providing for suitable zones for additional industry, commercial offices, and the appropriate housing schemes, and the reservation of country belts around towns. In some cases, better facilities for visitors and holiday-makers would be an appropriate form of local development.

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(b) Stronger powers for planning authorities to safeguard amenities, prevent undesirable development and control architecture in reasonable harmony with local character.

(c) Legislation dealing with the problem of compensation and betterment (land values altered or transferred by planning).

(d) Powers for local authorities of country towns, and county councils, to create, promote, and encourage the development of industrial and commercial estates, to provide or secure the provision of factory and office buildings, sidings, and industrial and business facilities, to obtain loans and grants for these purposes, and to acquire land for them.

(e) Appropriate post-war priorities in material and labour for housing, extensions of public services, and other classes of construction arising from these developments.

(f) Qualified central advice and guidance to local authorities on the technique involved in modern industrial and commercial estate development.

8. The Association suggests that these developments and administrative measures, while essential, should not be regarded as sufficient in themselves. The infusion of new industries and new blood into the country towns should be used as an opportunity to improve and widen their social and cultural amenities, a process that could be of great advantage to the present inhabitants as well as to the newcomers. An increase of population should enable certain facilities to be added to those already in existence, without heavy additional burdens; for example, in the fields of education, library services, public meeting places, clubs, swimming baths, playing fields and other recreational facilities.

9. It is suggested also that the country towns should consider whether there could be more co-operation in the fields of drama, music, art, and adult education between the towns themselves and the national and county organizations dealing with these matters. Many towns are well served in some of these matters, but more could be done to diffuse all over the country the higher forms of culture, perhaps by a combination of professional and amateur activity. The experiences of war-time show the tremendous possibilities latent in such co-operation. Comparatively small grants from the Government or the County Authorities (on the precedent of the Bristol Theatre and the grants for Community Centres) for the building of people's theatres and concert halls, coupling amateur with profes-

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sional performances on a circuit basis, would cater for the current growth of public demand for these forms of entertainment. Apart from the initial cost of the necessary buildings, they could be made largely self-supporting, and would give opportunities to a large number of professional artists who in normal times are under-employed, while giving the smaller towns more opportunity of enjoying the nation's talent.

10. The Conference agenda has been arranged as a means of making more widely known the opportunity that now presents itself to the country towns, and to start the practical consideration of the many issues that arise in connection with a national policy of decentralization.

11. If it is the wish of the towns represented at the Conference, the Association would be glad to appoint, on the nomination of the Conference, a special 'Country Towns Committee' of the Association, to keep the subject before the Public, Parliament, and the Government, and to work out definite proposals for the consideration of the authorities interested.

RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

1. That the Conference requests the Town and Country Planning Association to consider further the matters discussed at the Conference with a view to such action as may advance the policy.

2. That the Conference nominates an Advisory Committee to assist the Town and Country Planning Association in considering the matters arising out of the Conference.

3. That the existing country towns of Britain present opportunities of development capable of catering for a considerable measure of decentralization of industry, business and population from over-large towns and congested areas, and of providing better living and working conditions for many people from these areas.

4. That the Conference registers its general support of the policy outlined in the Executive Statement of the Town and Country Planning Association which formed the basis of discussion at the Conference, and urges the Government to make an immediate statement that they adopt in principle the recommendations of the Barlow Report for the decentralization of industry, business and population from the congested urban areas.

FOREWORD

BY STANLEY BARON

On Friday and Saturday, October 22nd and 23rd, 1943, there assembled in the Hall of the Royal Empire Society, London, a Conference to consider the part which should be played by small country towns in a National Planning Policy.

Delegates were present representing the Councils of seventeen rural districts, thirty-four urban districts, thirty-four small boroughs, four small county boroughs, two ancient cities and twelve counties: in all, 103 local authorities. There were also representatives of four joint planning committees and twenty-four associations of one kind and another dealing with the arts, amenities, etc.

These facts tell their own story. They mean that this was a Conference, which, though convened by the Town and Country Planning Association, an independent public body, was in a great degree the voice of the small country towns of England speaking for themselves—expressing their hopes, their needs, their opinions as to how they can maintain and extend their functions within the whole framework of our society: and sometimes expressing their fears.

The discussions which followed the authoritative papers set before the delegates were naturally, under these circumstances, of particular importance, and I have endeavoured in editing them to give the freest rein; making cuts in the main where there were duplications of comment or divagations from the points at issue.

The Conference may be considered as the logical successor of the Association's Oxford Conference of March 1941, dealing with decentralization from overgrown and congested cities, and the Cambridge Conference of 1942, which sought to define the principles and methods by which industry and business, when decentralized, could be reconciled to the needs of agriculture and rural life. The Report now submitted gains greatly in value, I suggest, when read side by side with the Reports of those two Conferences, already published.

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Introduction

The pioneer town planners conceived of their objective as *rus in urbe*: to-day the more comprehensive emphasis of the movement they founded embraces also *urbs in rure*; for if urban development is to be reconciled with a worthy environment for human life the setting of the town in relation to the countryside demands consideration no less than the layout of the town itself.

Contemporary civilization is based on large-scale industry: which as a matter of history has meant centralization. To-day we recognize that centralization has gone too far. Towns may become too big even for the convenience of industry: and industry is not an end in itself but a means to the improvement of the life of man. The subject of the London Conference arranged by the Town and Country Planning Association on the 22nd and 23rd October 1943, the proceedings at which are reported in this volume, was the place which should be assigned to our smaller towns in a balanced synthesis of urban and rural life.

It is now at least two centuries since the focus of the life of the great majority of our people was still the village: a static and all but self-contained unit which circumscribed the horizon of human interests and activities from birth till death. But even when town-dwellers were in a minority the town, in furnishing a market for the surplus produce of the countryside, in exchange for those commodities the village did not produce for itself, performed an essential function.

The onset of the industrial revolution promoted more elaborate distribution of labour and started the drift from the land which continued unchecked into our own times: population was already in the eighteenth century outstripping the capacity of agriculture to absorb the increase, and foreign trade was growing in importance. While the chief countries of the Continent were still divided up by a criss-cross of internal customs barriers the movement of goods and of people within the United Kingdom was free and labour responded to the magnet of employment in the towns. Both the growth and the movement of population accelerated rapidly throughout the nineteenth century and Britain came to lead the world in urbanization: the prime factors in settling the location of manufacturing centres

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being first water power and, later, coal and the railways; and at all times, access to the sea. The relative importance of agriculture, and with it that of the country town, declined steadily: the new pattern of the life of our people being shaped by the Black Country of the West Midlands, the textile industries of the northern dales, the coal measures of the north-east and those of South Wales, the facilities for shipbuilding afforded by the great rivers such as the Clyde and the Tyne, the development of the leading ports like Liverpool, Cardiff, and Hull, and the predominating concentration of many trades, businesses, and industries in the metropolis.

The Changing Pattern

What is to be the pattern of the Britain of the electric age? That it will be markedly different is already clear. The dispersal of industry which we have witnessed, dictated by strategic considerations, has demonstrated the power of a modern community, within wide limits, to redistribute its population and to modify its excessive concentration in existing overgrown complexes.

That men do not choose to live a life wholly walled off from the country is proved by the fact that those whose economic circumstances gave them a choice have never done so: that their instinct has been right is evidenced by the stature, the physique, the vital statistics of our urban populations. Men must live where they work, but we have learned that, with energy and foresight, many of our industries and businesses may be re-located with gain both to their own efficiency and to the health and happiness of all engaged in them.

The measure of dispersal and redistribution that may be desirable will not be completed overnight: it will be effected in the main by the judicious siting of new establishments, and of suitable extensions of old undertakings, in new surroundings: leaving more elbow room for those which are tied to their present situations. Progressive communities like Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool have already shown by their examples that the great cities can themselves play in this process a leading part by developing their own satellites. It can be eased and quickened by appropriate inducements to the industrialist and by compensation, where called for, to the local authorities affected: arrangements which will necessitate a positive and generously conceived policy on the part of the central Government. The process is already well under way. The future historian of our country

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will note the war-time experience of evacuation as the second milestone on a road whose first milestone was the construction of the electric grid.

Our great cities have paid for Britain's precedence in industrialization by congestion, overcrowding, and unemployment: the settlement of their surplus populations in new homes outside their present borders will pave the way for internal reconstruction on spacious modern lines. The Ministry of Health has warned us that over the country as a whole some four million new homes will be needed as soon as they can be built. Posterity will not forgive our generation if we leave the building of them to be decided by blind economic forces and the uncontrolled sprawl of existing 'conurbations'.

New Centres Needed

A proportion of the demand should be met in completely new centres designed for the purpose *ab initio*. Ample experience is already at our disposal of the conditions suitable for the development of self-contained urban units—new Towns having the character of true Garden Cities—in which the interests of industry and population may be happily married; and finance will be no obstacle to their creation since, over a period of time, the capital cost of a new town has been shown to be self-liquidating. The diversification of industry in places which have overspecialized in the past, in one or other of the old staple industries, must undoubtedly claim attention or these centres will relapse into an even more derelict condition than before the stimulus of war work came to their aid.

In this aspect of the general problem valuable lessons are available from the experimental-scale 'trading estates' of the inter-war period. Meanwhile in any comprehensive plan for making the most of our limited national heritage as a whole, the potentialities of the smaller towns must be given full scope. By-passed for the time being by the Industrial Revolution these now stand ready, under the new conditions of to-day, to claim once more their rightful place in the main stream of national progress.

After an address by Mr. F. J. Osborn, who dealt with the broad aspects of the subject and specifically with the question of the optimum size of community consistent with a full and satisfying life under modern conditions, the Conference heard a series of contributions from authoritative representatives of towns of widely differing type but all sharing the common attribute of moderate size: Malvern with

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its enviable combination of country town and health resort, Richmond as garrison town and Dale metropolis, Wisbech a port as well as an important farming centre, Haslingden dependent on a single industry, and that in decline—the circumstances of each were expounded in such a manner as to throw light upon a different facet of the common problem.

Opportunities Awaited

These addresses will be found instructive in showing how many, and how varied, are the towns ready for expansion and on the alert for opportunities to expand: offering as they do the nucleus of a useful industrial centre: the administrative structure: the physical equipment of roads, sewerage, water supplies, gas, electricity: capital assets for reconstruction purposes which must not be wasted. To accommodate new industries and a larger population they will need in some cases an extension of their boundaries; in all cases new powers (and the financial means) to acquire land, to erect buildings to be let for private enterprise, and for the provision of extended facilities and amenities. They bring with them a historical background, a mature corporate tradition, and the priceless advantage of close contact with country life.

The remaining contributions to the symposium deal with the subject in more general terms; the types of industry which will best lend themselves to being domiciled in the country; the industrial estate, and its layout, as a means for the better development of industry which has already begun in comparatively cramped surroundings; the cultural needs of a modern community; the ways in which a growing population can be furnished with the amusements, the recreations, the amenities, and the common interests which go to make up a full and satisfying life for contemporary civilized man. Mr. G. N. C. Swift's address on Legislation describes in detail the legal framework already available upon which a positive planning policy can be constructed and the limitations of existing powers from the point of view of the smaller urban authorities: and points out the directions in which the implementing of such a policy will demand the assistance of public money and public credit.

If our national resources are to be exploited to the full, and the curse of barren unemployment is to be replaced by the blessing of well used leisure, we have to devise a society in which each of us can pull his weight and each have the opportunity to realize his full per-

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sonality. While man is much more than an economic animal, he attains only in a very partial degree even the economic efficiency of which he is capable so long as the other sides of his nature lack room for development. Health, wealth, and happiness go together; and the core of a sound society is the family home. Both economically, and because they have proved to be destructive of normal home life, a reaction from the overgrown and overcrowded expanses of bricks and mortar bequeathed to us by the coal and railway age is overdue. The reorganization of British life which it is the task of our generation to carry out must take more account of quality and less of mere size; and in planning it we should ignore an invaluable element of our older inheritance if we failed to put our country towns well back on the map.

At the final session of a conference which served admirably to focus attention upon this neglected side of our social reconstruction resolutions were adopted recording the large measure of agreement reached and preparing the way for further action.

ERIC MACFADYEN

SESSION ONE

COUNTRY TOWNS THEIR POTENTIALITIES AND NEEDS

CHAIRMAN: LORD HARMSWORTH

Chairman's Opening Remarks

Lord Harmsworth, who took the chair at the opening session (which began at 10.30 a.m. on Friday, October 22nd) reminded the members of the Conference that the Town and Country Planning Association was originally named the Garden Cities Association, and was founded by Ebenezer Howard. The Association had assisted in the promotion first of Letchworth, then of Welwyn Garden City—the only two new country towns in England.

The essence of Ebenezer Howard's policy was decentralization under the most favourable conditions. He insisted on the importance of the unity of town and country and from the beginning avoided the difficult and vexing problem of compensation. What one man did successive governments had been unable to accomplish.

Their enthusiasm for the conception of the garden city remained unabated, and new towns are still required. But besides the establishment of garden cities on virgin sites, existing country towns should themselves become the nuclei of garden cities. Such a city, clustered round a venerable, historic small town, might be as successful and as interesting as Letchworth or Welwyn.

It was his hope that the Conference would be able to bring pressure on the Government to provide the necessary legislation by which the problems of the small country towns could be solved.

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STATEMENT ONE

BY F. J. OSBORN

(Hon. Secretary to the Town and Country Planning Assoc.)

THE THESIS OF THE CONFERENCE

In introducing his paper, stating the thesis of the Conference, Mr. Osborn explained that before the Conference had been called a group of representative towns had been invited by the Executive of the Town and Country Planning Association to send delegates to a preparatory meeting. There they had worked out the agenda and plan of the Conference and it was on the basis of the discussions they had had and the correspondence which ensued that the purposes and objects of the Conference had been set forth.

Though not all the towns who wished were able to be present, there was a very good representation of all the types of towns concerned; and a great many others were following the proceedings of the Conference with interest.

Mr. Osborn continued:

I hope this Conference may prove the beginning of a new approach to the age-old issues between City and Country. Up to fifty or forty years ago those issues were still thought of in terms of opposite ways of life, tending to be in antagonism. In advanced industrial countries like ours the majority of people, and in all Western countries a very large proportion, had embraced the urban way of life with misgivings. You can trace these misgivings through the literature of civilization from its beginnings down to the present day. In general it is accepted doubtfully that progress, the advance of trade and industrialism, civilization itself, necessitated the herding of people into cities; but it was plain to all that a terrible price had to be paid in pestilence, physical and moral degeneration, and sheer ugliness and squalor; and even at times when the optimism of mechanical progress has been at its height many of the greatest leaders of thought have doubted whether progress would in the end prove worth the price.

But I think in every age until the present the doubts sounded old-fashioned or nostalgic, simply because the antithesis was always wrongly stated. Perhaps the most brilliant of the enthusiasts for urban progress and all that goes with it was Macaulay; who was convinced, and I think rightly, that he had every schoolboy on his side. In his famous controversy with Southey about the virtues and vices of industrialism, every schoolboy knew that as the issues were stated, Macaulay was right and Southey wrong. I would certainly have voted *Ja* for Macaulay when I was a schoolboy, and for long after. But reading to-day the passages in which Macaulay put Southey through the wringer and hung him out to dry, I feel that on the urban issue as we now see it Southey had insight and Macaulay was blind.

Let us agree with Macaulay that industrialism has been of immense advantage to the human race, that it has given us better clothes, more food, wonderful labour-saving appliances, cheap travel, books, advances in medicine, and a prodigious range of interesting and pleasing things. It remains true, as Southey saw, that it has worsened rather than improved the personal and family surroundings of millions upon millions of people. Which means that, up to now, it has largely failed in perhaps the most important department of a good life. This, I believe, is the main reason why people, in sober reflective mood, still entertain doubts of the whole business of scientific advance and industrialism. If you give a man a million pounds and then clap him for life in a dark prison, he will at times doubt if you have done him much good. Metaphorically that is what mechanical progress has done for the urban worker.

Now if you look at the early literature of the town planning movement—at the writings of William Morris and Ebenezer Howard, for example—you will see that the background against which it emerged was that of a declining countryside and a cancerous growth of huge congested cities. In this picture the country towns were classed with the country villages as part of the decaying or deflating fabric. The country towns were seen to be part of rural or non-industrial England, losing population and going down with the countryside. The economic basis of most country towns was trade and interchange of services with the surrounding rural countryside. The new towns, on the other hand, the Birminghams, Coventrys, Middlesbroughs, and so on, were based on nation-wide or even international exchange; and in cases where they were developments of old country towns their country-town functions were swamped and even abandoned.

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But it is important for the purposes of our Conference to remember that this distinction between the new manufacturing town, the town characteristic of modern industry and in recent times of mass production, and the country town functioning mainly as a marketing and service centre, was never a clear or categorical one, and is not so to-day. A great many country towns became the seats of small units of industry of an essentially nation-wide character. New industries making for wide markets were occasionally set up in quite small towns, and succeeded there. There is no distinction of kind. The distinction we have to deal with is entirely one of scale and speed of development.

In many country towns the amount of new industry or new trade that was started was insufficient to make up for the gradual decline of their functions as rural market towns. Many became to some degree depressed areas, but often not to so acute a degree as to justify their being classified as such. Once static or declining, they found it more and more difficult to recover. It was easier for young people to move to the rapidly expanding cities than to wait for opportunities to arise in their home towns. Because industry could confidently count on an influx of new workers into big cities, manufacturers found it a safer policy to put their new works there, despite very definite disadvantages in other ways. And so a vicious circle was set up, which continued right up to the war.

In recent years there has been a big change in thought on the subject of the size of towns. Not only for military reasons, but for reasons of local transport, reasons of community organization, and reasons of internal space for living, serious thinkers have now become convinced that cities can be too big, and that control of their size can be and ought to be a subject of public policy.

If this thought is correct, it puts a new light on the Southey-Macaulay wrangle. Southey was essentially right, and Macaulay on shaky ground, if in fact industrial towns have to be what they were in those days, and what the central parts of Birmingham, Manchester, and London are to-day. But their size and density is a colossal obstacle to humanization. It is a new thought that the size of towns can be subject to social management. Ten years ago it would have seemed startling both to economists and statesmen, and it had not occurred to the general public. It was not even seriously entertained by town planners. I quote a passage from an essay I wrote in 1934, showing how I had then to apologize for the very idea:

'Before we can give any reality to planning, there must be some consensus of opinion on the size of towns. I am fully aware how abstract, unreal and remote the subject seems to most practical people. Nevertheless, nothing can be done in planning until this issue is tackled. . . . All planning is primarily fixing the quantitative relations of things, and secondly rounding them off or tidying them up to satisfy an aesthetic sense. How can you fix the right sizes of the central parts, which must in time be built around, unless you have some idea of the final size of the town? Unless you do find the right sizes for these things, a town is a permanent invalid, living an expensive and painful life of major operations—street widenings, slum clearances, excavations for tubes, and so on—and from a veterinary surgeon's point of view, a clear case for the lethal chamber. . . . It would be far better if planners, and their partisans, were divided, like the Lilliputians, into bitterly hostile groups, of Big-Townians and Little-Townians, Fifteen-thousanders and hundred-thousanders, than that they should remain in their present bemused state of helpful purposelessness—like gardeners hoeing and watering the plant and wondering it it is going to be a daisy or a hollyhock.'

Nine years later, what I hardly dared to plead for has come true. Everywhere people are arguing fiercely as to whether a town, or a community or neighbourhood unit, should have this or that population. My own present view on that question is simple and empirical. Whatever is the economic or social case for cities of 8 million, 2 million, 1 million, half-a-million, or 100,000, we have plenty of such cities. Many of our industries and businesses in these big cities have no need to be there from a technical or organizational point of view, but would be equally well or better off in cities of less than 50,000. Technological changes, electricity grids, the organization of employment, transport and so on, make it possible for some of the present industries, and future new industries, to be dispersed in smaller towns, some of them fairly near large centres, but others almost anywhere which isn't a transport backwater.

On social grounds, and for convenience in arrangement—with ample space for houses and gardens, factories and extensions, and recreation space—there is a lot to be said for a town not being more than a mile or so in radius. In such a town everybody can get in fifteen minutes to the work-centre, and everybody can be within ten or fifteen minutes of the open country—two enormous advantages in daily life. A town of more than 50,000 loses some of these advantages;

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so I would think very hard about designing any new town or expanding any existing small town beyond 40,000 or 50,000, unless the nature and scale of its industry made that absolutely essential.

On the other hand, modern competitive industry, even when the units are relatively small, does require a complete range of services of many kinds, and some reserve or interchangeability of workers. Moreover, industrial workers are civilized beings, habituated to certain urban amenities, liking a choice of things to do and a certain freedom to group for a variety of different activities, and they need certain educational and social facilities that are extremely difficult, as I know by experience, to provide economically in a town of less than 15,000 or 20,000.

Thus, what we seem to need in England to-day is many more really vital, progressive, well equipped and socially and culturally well developed towns of between 20,000 and 50,000 population. A good many of these, I am sure, should be entirely new towns, or towns absorbing existing villages or towns now so small that they are practically villages. Such new towns are specially necessary in the vicinity of huge agglomerations that have to be decentralized, in very sparsely populated counties, in areas where entirely new economic developments are occurring (such as around the dispersed munition factories, or areas of agricultural reclamation), and in areas where the existing centres are obsolete or so spoiled by bad development or subsidences that they cannot be rehabilitated. The planning and economic advantages of founding entirely new towns are very great, and such new towns should be a definite part of our national policy. The older towns have no reason to fear or to be jealous of them. It has been found in Hertfordshire that the establishment of two new towns has brought increased prosperity, not only to vast areas of the surrounding rural land and villages, but also to towns, three, five and ten miles distant. The interchange they permit is a source of immense mutual advantage.

New towns, however, are a separate subject with which this Conference is not dealing. Our purpose on this occasion is to consider the extension, revitalization and industrial and business development of existing small towns and large villages which are virtually or potentially towns.

National planning policy, as we conceive it, will put a strong restraint on the further establishment of industries and businesses in cities and towns already over-large or over-concentrated. It will also

take every opportunity, as businesses expand, move, expire or change, to promote transfer, in some cases to new towns, and in some cases to existing country towns. We have to discuss the technique of this dispersal, and especially the part the country towns will themselves take in it.

Some small part of the revitalization may come from the expected national policy of rehabilitating agriculture, but it must be realized that this will not in itself suffice. Mechanization of agriculture has advanced enormously during the war, and even if more acreage continues in full cultivation than before the war, the number of workers in agriculture as such is likely to show a further decline. Country towns cannot look therefore to the farming population as a source of much increased turnover as retail markets, though higher rural wages, if sustained, will help to maintain their trade to some extent. If, therefore, they want some population growth many country towns should seek to draw to themselves industries of the urban type, producing for the regional or national market, or even wider markets.

Some country towns should also, I suggest, cater for governmental offices and commercial enterprises of the head office or regional office type. I have long been convinced that a great deal of the work carried on in offices in London and the regional capitals is not inseparably bound to the special markets there, but could with every advantage be decentralized to country towns. The workers in such offices are well paid and usually have a high stability of employment and a long retirement on good pensions. They are first-class citizens of any town. But they make certain demands. They include a fair percentage of the people who want, and support, the theatre, music, the arts, and circles for the pursuit of intellectual and cultural interests. They themselves, in my considered opinion, lose more than they realize by not living in integrated communities where every man and woman may be, if he chooses, a known personality. If anything, they are, through inexperience, rather averse to the idea. But I think they could be won over to the social superiority of the country town as against the anonymous suburb—if the small town can promise them the cultural atmosphere, the mental liveliness, the sense of vitality, they need. This we shall discuss in a later session.

Educational facilities are most important to business and industrial workers. Many smallish towns are rich in this respect, but not all. In the more advanced facilities, child guidance clinics, and so on,

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some of the larger cities can provide easily what is difficult for a single small town to provide. I suggest there is much room here for energetic exploration of the possibilities of co-operation between neighbouring towns and the County authorities.

Speaking to representatives of the country towns, I naturally stress the apparent disadvantages of some of these towns as they will almost certainly appear to business men and industrial and office workers accustomed to the incidental services of the larger towns. I do so because if we are going to be successful in a decentralization policy every effort must be made, by the Government and the local authorities acting together, to see that the influx of new population is used as an opportunity to re-examine the town services and supplement them and improve them as much as possible. That will, of course, be also of advantage to the existing residents of the towns.

But there is also a need for making far better known to the people in the larger cities the immense real attractions and the variety and individuality of life in our country towns. The Londoner, and to a slightly less extent, the inhabitant of the million-city, has a quite unjustified conceit of his city and its culture. This sort of place-loyalty is a fine thing at root, and I am far from deriding it, but I deride its narrowness. Many a Londoner, for instance, considers the rest of England 'provincial', by which he means that it doesn't know what is what, isn't in touch with the latest things, speaks a funny dialect instead of intelligent Cockney, and hasn't seen this week an American film he saw last week. The B.B.C. has modified this consciousness of priority a bit, and the war experiences a bit more. But still it is true. I am a Londoner and therefore I can say without being accused of jealousy that there is nobody on earth more 'provincial' than that sort of Londoner, in the sense of thinking the world is bounded by his own local habits and experiences. This is particularly true of London highbrows; there was no cultural provincialism worse than the 'provincialism of Piccadilly' just before this war. A Londoner has never heard of Haslingden, and would not easily believe that an unknown northern town would have new ideas of its own. Haslingden may have its own failings, but at least it does know there are other places, including London. I think the war has opened our eyes amazingly to the existence of other places, other groups of people, other ways of life as interesting as our own. The tendency to 'stay put' has been a bit shaken; and in any case all sorts of ties have been broken (sometimes tragically) and will not be easy to

rejoin. Immediately after the war, rearrangement and readjustment, always difficult, will not be quite so difficult as usual. It is the time for towns to review their assets and possibilities, the time when energetic new departures can be made.

But it is necessary to couple what may be done locally with a national effort to get people in the cities, and in the countryside, to accept a vision of an England with a great number of towns, all different, all in their way vitally alive, all contributing something to our national life and civilization, and all interchanging visits and experience without necessarily imitating each other or following a fashion set by a Metropolis. Mass-life, as many philosophers are saying in all countries, is the menace of our time. It cannot unfortunately be disputed that the leadership which in the past often came from smaller towns is not conspicuous in the world to-day. On the other hand the cultural leadership we do get from the big cities is of far lower quality than the immense advance of population, wealth and education might have been expected to produce.

I think the reason for many of the worst phenomena of mass-civilization is that youth and energy have for decades been flowing ceaselessly to the big centres, where they are partially deflowered or submerged. New construction and all the wealth and employment that goes with it, have gone too much in a few directions. The race produces a continual new flow of youth and energy, and an increasing output of construction. If you could turn a proportion of the new flow towards country towns and new towns, I believe the mere change of direction would be stimulating to the best features of social life, and over a few decades both the large cities, redeveloped more spaciouly within, and the country towns, revitalized and re-equipped, would rise in health, prosperity, and culture.

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STATEMENT TWO

BY J. BULMAN

(Clerk and Solicitor of the Malvern Urban District Council)

In the last Great War we heard much of the promise of a land fit for heroes to live in. Whether Britain, after the present war, could be converted into such a Utopia may be doubtful—but our fighting forces have earned, and are earning, something better in the way of living conditions and amenities than has been enjoyed in the past, and it behoves planners to plan for a land at least fitter for heroes than it has been hitherto.

One way to achieve this would be to develop the smaller towns by attracting to them factories and businesses, and thus relieving the congestion in the large cities and industrial areas, and preventing further undesirable and unhealthy expansion.

The development of the Country Town would help to make Britain a fairer land. The Country Town can offer to every man, be he factory worker or office worker, a self-contained dwelling-house with a reasonable garden and all that such a life means to the man, his wife, but above all his children, when compared with existence in a flat on perhaps the fifth floor of a block.

In a Country Town the distance between home and work is short and saves the worker valuable time and the expense of fares. Indeed, in many cases he can get home to his midday meal, a consideration which despite the development of British Restaurants and canteens is still highly prized by those able to do it.

All distances are shorter in the smaller towns. The worker lives within easy reach of the shops, recreation facilities, and even the local football ground. In addition, his children have not so far to go to school and the journey is attended by less risk of road accidents.

The Country Town, being less congested, offers healthier surroundings and easier access to the countryside.

These amenities and others which could be developed by the small

town would help the worker to lead a more natural and fuller life and should therefore make him a more contented man and better worker, and give him opportunities to take part in the life of the community.

More Health, More Efficiency

If in such conditions he is a better worker, he will render more efficient service to his employer, and I would here stress that when I mention employer I am not thinking only of the factory owner but of the commercial man as well. There are many great commercial undertakings, such as insurance companies, that have evacuated their headquarters from the large cities during the war and would do well to weigh carefully the advantages and disadvantages before returning to their original headquarters. They should bear in mind that their sojourn in the Country Town has been under the adverse circumstances of war, when the usual social and cultural activities of the town have been unable to function normally and so perhaps the firms' employees may have found the life rather dull. But in time of peace, these pursuits would resume their pre-war functioning and indeed be developed as a result of increased patronage.

To the employer, the Country Town can offer the usual public utilities—gas, water, electricity, etc., and less congested means of communication.

If Country Towns are to grow as a result of National Planning, the local authorities and the present residents must be prepared to do their share. The newcomers must be welcomed and admitted to a developed social life. There must be facilities for the man who has literary leanings as well as for the musical—and in the realm of sport and recreation ample provision must be made and there should be facilities for swimming, lawn tennis, badminton, etc.

To develop on those lines, the Country Town needs legislative and perhaps financial help. The Local Authority will want compulsory power to acquire land and power to erect buildings and to sell or lease them for industrial and commercial purposes, in order that they may have such buildings ready to offer to firms in need.

On the cultural and amenity side, power should be given to the Local Authority to conduct theatres and cinemas because there should be an adequate service of these types of entertainment and in the case of stage plays the production might have to be rate aided.

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Malvern's Case

My own town, Malvern, can offer ample sites for development for factories, and there is unlimited scope for large offices. We have ample water, gas, electricity and an efficient sewerage system. For the worker, there are the Council-owned theatre and cinema, which are let on lease, and the Winter Gardens which comprises a large hall used for conferences, concerts, public meetings, etc. The Council also own an open-air swimming pool. In addition to the public park, there is extensive common land which provides a generous amount of open space, and the incomparable Malvern Hills over which the public have free access. There are also numerous tennis courts and bowling greens available to the public.

The town has its musical society, amateur dramatic society, chess club, badminton club, field club and art club, as well as all the usual facilities for social intercourse and recreation. There is an excellent public library with lecture hall adjoining.

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STATEMENT THREE

BY ALDERMAN MISS R. G. ROPER, J.P.

(*Deputy Mayor of Richmond, Yorkshire*)

I represent a typical English country town which wants to receive industries of the right kind—Richmond in Yorkshire—a beautiful town set in the surroundings of ‘England’s green and pleasant land’—the broad acres of Yorkshire. But beauty without usefulness is an empty shell, and it is our claim and ability to be of real use that I am here to stress to-day.

Those of you who have the good fortune to know Richmond, ‘the Mother of the Richmonds everywhere’, will know also that it stands as the focal point of a great agricultural area of the North Riding. It is often spoken of as the capital of Richmondshire and Swaledale, and I can tell you with honesty that from its birth in Norman times the life of the countryside has circled around it, and that for the rural dwellers of the Dale it is the metropolis. It is a Garrison Town and proud to be the home of its famous regiment, The Green Howards, whilst on its boundaries is Catterick Camp, ‘the Aldershot of the North’. It is also a holiday centre with first-class road and rail facilities.

Historic Planning

As a typical country town it provides amenities for a much greater community than its own and in miniature it gives to the rural dwellers around it almost all that can be had in the large cities and towns. This year, Richmond celebrates 850 years of free corporate life, and during those centuries the foundations of sound local government have been laid, nurtured, maintained and developed. Long before the days of Government grants and encouragement, the City Fathers were providing for their people all essential services—water supply, even before the sixteenth century when leaden pipes were introduced; fire prevention equipment in the eighteenth century; gas-lighted streets in 1821.

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To-day the Corporation maintains efficient and profitable gas, water and electricity undertakings, each with a qualified engineer at the head. The Corporation possesses a market, plantations and quarries and, as Lord of the Manor, it administers extensive corporate estates. With but slight increase in 'overheads', the Corporation could afford those services to at least double the present population of the Borough.

If not prevented by the unbridled ambitions of others, it has a great part to play in the future of the North Riding. Who are those others? They are those bodies who from the first have shown an appalling ignorance of the England which exists outside the cities and industrial centres. Among them are the large cities and towns who, blind to the true welfare of their people, fear that any extension of the small country towns will mean a financial loss to them and a gain to others. They are parochial minded instead of national minded. That is why this Conference will not receive a benediction from the 'big battalions'. The large cities should ask themselves, 'Are we not already large enough, if not too large?' I hold that every town must accept a maximum or optimum population.

Early in 1941, we in Richmond, aware of what rural England has always known, saw the significance of the 'country town' and the part it could play in post-war reconstruction, and we pointed to the distinction which could be drawn between the small towns which only have antiquity and the towns which though small, function as country towns. We tried to tell those who lead the cities and large towns something of what the small country town already provides: how its usefulness could be extended and health of body and mind brought to the worker.

Develop Existing Towns

I venture a criticism of one of the avowed aims of the Town and Country Planning Association. Is not too much emphasis being placed on the creation of new towns before the needs of existing country towns are satisfied? I feel that industry should be brought first to the existing towns which already have the essentials of an organized urban life; they rest on sound foundations of local government and administration which have stood the test of centuries.

In naming our needs, I feel that the reorganization of local government is firmly linked with the future of the country towns. I know that this introduces a controversial note, but it is useless for us to

consider here how best to extend the usefulness of the country towns if their very existence is threatened. To me, it is little short of madness to end with a mere stroke of the pen the useful life of a small town which has potentialities which even we know not of. We should hammer home, in season and out of season, that in rural England population is no criterion.

In the Middle Ages, Richmond boasted the greatest corn-market of the North. It had thirteen Merchant Guilds (only one lives on to-day) which gives some idea of its former greatness and prosperity. Like many other country towns, Richmond declined in prosperity for want of two things—population and industry. That decline was due in large measure to the country's neglect of agriculture, and for this the country towns were blameless. It was a grievous wrong, which Parliament only could remedy. Only now, for fear of blockade, has Parliament given assurances that from now on the industry of agriculture will no longer be allowed to drift aimlessly and unorganized. It is to be regarded as one of our vital industries.

Widening the Boundaries

Some country towns, small in area as well as in population, will require an extension of their boundaries if industries are to be placed within the administrative area of the town. We are not aspiring to become great industrial centres. There is sweet reasonableness in all things. We want light, mobile industries giving employment to the young men and women who will return from the war to set up their homes, keen to be self-supporting and useful members of society. Surely it is their right.

The country towns will need expert advice on technical matters, such as the selection and opening up of suitable sites for industry. Those towns which are holiday resorts, must provide more hotels, preferably under municipal control. Lack of funds should not be allowed to impede the development of the small country towns. We live in an age of subsidies, and financial difficulties can be met by grant-in-aid.

In a Memorandum which many of you here will have read, Richmond staked her claim to a large share of the nation's industry and population which in recent years have gone almost wholly to the larger cities. We know that our efforts were not in vain. They caused many to reflect and to ask themselves, 'Is it not better to be a live member of a community of reasonable size with friendly communal

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life, than a lonely individual in a large city?' When the Archbishop of York preached at our Commemoration Service in August, he spoke with warmth of 'the places where people had communion one with another and were able to recognize each other by sight'. How true it is. For myself, I would rather be a frog in a small pond than a lonely, frightened frog in a big one. That is why I am proud to represent Richmond and to say how pleased we are to walk in step with you to-day. We support wholeheartedly any plan which will strengthen the country town, so that in the future it can give to others what it has for centuries given to its own people.

What can the country towns offer? They have the tradition of self-government and the essentials of an organized urban life, and at their 'door-step', health-giving surroundings. The lack of industry and population is the cause of their decline in prosperity. Give them industries of the right type. That is the answer to their call.

From strange old hilly Richmond (ancient but not antique) we ask to be allowed to extend our usefulness and to remain the true centre of the romance and grandeur of Northern England. How loudly she calls us in these unhappy days to recollect the husbandry of strength and skill with which the first growths of English life were tended and handed down to us to maintain and develop.

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STATEMENT FOUR

BY COUNCILLOR ALFRED W. COLLETT

(Chairman, Housing and T.P. Committee, Borough of Wisbech)

I have been instructed by my Council to represent them at this Conference. For some considerable time Wisbech has been endeavouring to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the small towns have for a long time not been getting a square deal. The drift to the larger towns has been one of the outstanding phenomena of the last fifty years. It has been aided by quite a number of causes not the least of which has been the development within private enterprise of economic monopolies. It has been our object to show that the growth of the small town aids not merely its own townspeople but the surrounding countryside, in fact about three times as many people as those directly affected. With this object in view on the instructions of my Council, the Mayor and I with the Town Clerk gave evidence to Lord Justice Scott's Committee and you may have noticed the references in their Report to the development of the country town. We thus claim to be pioneers in this case.

With regard to the advantages which we can offer, it is obvious that situate as we are in the centre of a rich agricultural district any industry which draws its raw material from the local agriculture should be economically placed in Wisbech. Where, too, such an industry is dependent upon a seasonal crop it should not be too large and it should have a complementary industry. In this instance I consider that a sugar beet factory not too large should be situate at Wisbech to produce sugar from locally grown beet which sugar could be used in the manufacture of jam, marmalade and other products.

Obviously in an area where fruit is one might almost say paramount, jam should be manufactured, and yet fruit is sent out of our area to be manufactured into jam in London and then the jam is sent back again. The sugar beet season and the employment of workers at the sugar beet factories would be complementary to those engaged

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in the jam industry, both for when the sugar had finished and subsequently dealing with fruit which had been pulped prior to manufacture into jam. Marmalade, pickles, sauces and other similar materials would be obtained both from locally-grown fruit in the case of the latter and imports in the case of the oranges, spices, etc.

Wisbech is, of course, a port and we contend that industries based upon the proved delivery capacity of that port should naturally come to us.

Industry Follows Agriculture

Dealing still with the products of agriculture one can also mention the needs of such industry, the provision of containers, metal, paper, wood and glass, printing and railway facilities which would naturally follow. Also agriculture is a large absorber and we consider that based upon the ordinary economic theory of being in proximity to one's market, the manufacture of artificial manures, agricultural chemicals, including sprays, fungicides, insecticides, etc., manufacture and servicing of agricultural implements of all types should similarly be with us.

I next propose to deal with possible port development. We were in peace-time considerable importers of timber and a lot of this was sent through to larger towns to be manufactured. I see no reason why it should not be manufactured into articles by us. The war showed the dependence upon imports for matches; a match factory could conveniently be situate here, the manufacture of match boxes being already possible with the chip basket factories already situate here, and the timber could be made into furniture (there will be a terrific need for it), into door and window frames, etc. We were also importers of wheat and this should be milled with us and not at the larger ports where it was subject to such a risk from enemy attack, and the milled flour could be made up into biscuits, cakes, etc., for distribution in the area instead of being dependent upon the larger centres. This, too, would not be the unsettling of economic laws because the waste products could be manufactured into cattle and poultry foods and sold in the area.

We consider that a judicious mixture of the industries which have been suggested would in no way militate against the agricultural industry, nor against industries already settled here, that not one of those suggested would be in any way uneconomically sited and would be coming to us for a definite logical reason.

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STATEMENT FIVE

BY GEORGE R. BULL

(Town Clerk of Haslingden, Lancs.)

In order that you may appreciate the potentialities and needs of small industrial country towns, of which Haslingden is typical, it is necessary for me at the outset to give you some idea of the location and characteristics of the town which I serve.

As a separate unit of local government, Haslingden, like many other towns in the area, is largely the result of the rapid growth of the cotton trade in Lancashire towards the end of the last century. Many other towns in other parts of the country are similarly the children of the Industrial Revolution, of the expansion in the mining or shipbuilding or other similar industries.

Haslingden is located eighteen miles north of Manchester and is equidistant from the larger industrial county boroughs of Bury, Rochdale, Burnley, Bolton and Blackburn which are seven miles away. As a result of its rapid growth in trade and population it was incorporated in 1891 with a population which showed every indication of passing the twenty thousand mark within the next few years. This growth continued though at a somewhat slower rate up to the outbreak of the first World War and after an ephemeral burst of prosperity in the early 'twenties there has been a progressive diminution in both prosperity and population until, at the present day, its inhabitants number fifteen thousand.

The staple industry of the town and, until recently, its sole industry, is and was the cotton trade, principally cotton weaving. As in many other north-western industrial towns the employed population consists of both sexes and it is the rule rather than the exception to find husband, wife and elder children, both boys and girls, in the same house, as wage earners.

The Physical Problem

The town is built on a hilly site with altitudes ranging from 475 to 1,350 feet above sea level. Nearly all the streams which flow

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through it are tributaries of the River Orwell. On these streams the original cotton mills were built and the houses soon clustered round these mills. As a result, to-day we find the centres of population and of industry together on the hillsides. A feature of the town is a large undeveloped flat plateau of land which, as a result, has remained unbuilt upon largely because it is not traversed by the water courses so necessary to the cotton industry. This plateau, some 650 feet above sea level, is crossed by a new arterial road in which a complete range of public utility services has been installed. As a result of the situation and altitude of the undeveloped land in Haslingden it is not of great value from an agricultural point of view. It offers by reason of its propinquity to existing communications and services, considerable inducement and value to industry and the siting thereon of transferred or new industries—a siting which in no way would conflict with the principles laid down in the Scott Report. There would be no need for the waste of new services, and transferred populations could be housed within reasonable distance of their employment.

I have detailed at some length these characteristics of Haslingden as they are typical of those of the small industrial country town especially in the inland districts of the North of England where the Pennine Chain is such a prominent feature of the landscape. With the permission of the surveyor of the Whiston Rural District Council, Mr. Watson Garbutt, I would like to instance the potentialities of Rainhill, a township within the Whiston Rural District, situate in close proximity to the City of Liverpool. Although this township is of a very different character from Haslingden, being situate on flat land near a large seaport, it has the same potentialities and similar needs. Whilst its present population is 7,000, its optimum maximum population is 20,000 persons who could be housed within reasonable distance of their employment.

The three speakers who have preceded me have talked from the points of view of the residential urban district, the small Ancient Borough and the Borough set in the midst of an agricultural area. The type of country town for which I speak is entirely different. Its population is already industrial in character. The siting of industry in the area would not conflict with its residential amenities and a development of the town which would involve the widening of streets, the relocation of public buildings and the opening up of comparatively large areas would not involve the destruction of ancient buildings or monuments. Furthermore, these towns already have

local government organizations in existence which are capable of administering the needs of populations of more than double their present size without large-scale adjustments.

The sites for transferred industry are there, the nucleus of an industrial population is already established, the Public Services are in existence and close to the sites and all that is required for these potentialities to be used in the national as well as the local interest, is the implementation by the Government of the proposals of the Barlow Report which have achieved so much publicity.

Country Towns Need Security

Passing from the potentialities of these country towns to their needs, one thing stands out. Sir William Beveridge has achieved great fame with his Report on Social Security. These country towns need security of another kind. They are, at the moment, threatened on all sides from without. The proposals of the Association of Municipal Corporations for the establishment of single 'all-purposes' authorities constituted a threat in one direction; the proposals of the County Councils Association which would strip them of all their powers and many of their functions menaces them from another angle, and the various departmental proposals affecting particular services which are being brought forward by His Majesty's Government constitute perhaps the most serious danger of all.

The most pressing need, therefore, at the present time, is for some definite pronouncement to be made on the future policy of the Government. If the Barlow Report is to be the basis for post-war reconstruction, then the potentialities to which I have referred can perform a most useful function but there is ground for much mis-giving on the score that the threat to which I have referred will have destroyed the identity of the town before practical measures can be taken.

Some degree of reassurance may be gained from the statement made by the Minister of Town and Country Planning that Local Authorities should proceed with their post-war planning on the assumption that there will be no change in the existing organization of Local Government. As to the degree of reassurance which we can draw from this statement I am by no means certain, especially as the Government is plainly proceeding without delay in some of its centralization proposals. Of these I would instance two, namely: the Administration of Education and the Milk programme.

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New Industries, New Populations

The second greatest need of the small industrial country towns is, of course, population. There must be a reversal of the drift of population to the large cities, a drift which only came into being because of the better opportunities offered by the larger town of more remunerative employment. New industries are, therefore, an essential factor of such increases in population. Increases in population postulate large housing programmes, as not only have we to house the influx of residents, we have also to re-house the large proportion of our present populations in up-to-date houses which are fit for habitation.

Progress and advance in town and country planning is not confined to the large unit. The small country towns can and do claim that they have themselves made great contributions, not only to local government administration but also to the art of living together. The social evils which exist in the larger town would not be tolerated for one moment in the smaller country town and that these evils do exist was palpably demonstrated during the Government Evacuation Scheme. If it is admitted, as I think it must be, that some decentralization of the population after the war must take place, surely it should be directed not to new units to be created as satellite suburbs of large towns but to the existing small country towns which can absorb them without dislocation or the waste of amenities.

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STATEMENT SIX

BY COUNCILLOR WALTER JOHNSON

(Borough of Brackley, Northants)

I am representing one of the oldest and smallest boroughs in the country—Brackley in Northamptonshire. Half-way between London and Birmingham, it has excellent potential communications. To quote a familiar phrase from enemy bulletins—the advantages it offers for ‘a rapid advance to the rear’ were apparent to the barons in 1215 when they chose it as the most convenient place to hand their demands—which later became Magna Carta—to the king’s envoy.

Brackley is the cross roads town at the intersection of the Oxford-Northampton and Banbury-Buckingham roads and nowadays the main L.N.E.R. line from Marylebone (the old Gt. Central) and the L.M.S. branch from Banbury to Bletchley gives immediate access to the three main north-south railway systems.

The pre-war Borough was moribund—the population fell from 26 hundred in 1911 to 21 hundred in 1931—owing to the decay in hunting and decreased importance of the local market. If I may paraphrase, with the Secretary’s permission, a quotation . . . ‘Brackley was stagnant . . . it fulfilled its waning functions in relation to the villages, but was not conscious of that current of creative activity which is a need of the enterprising and vigorous.’ However, two years ago, the Borough—the first in the County—appointed a Post-War Development Committee which has been trying to restore the sense that Brackley is a promising place for alert-minded people.

The Financial Limitation

The whole of our outlook is conditioned by one ineluctable fact—temporary war-time prosperity has raised the yield of a penny rate to £50. And we postulate post-war prosperity in the enveloping countryside which will lead to a greater demand for those services best provided by a local centre. We want three things—a greater local interest in local planning—a community centre—and increased educational facilities. But bearing in mind our parish pump finances

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we have had to adopt an oblique approach to our objectives—and three of our activities may be valuable to kindred authorities.

A serious town planning scheme is out of the question: we therefore approached first the Liverpool School of Architecture, then its Department of Civic Design, and the Director, Mr. Eden, paid us a visit. One of his post-graduate students—a qualified practising architect—agreed to take Brackley as the subject of his diploma thesis in return for a small contribution to his extra expenses. As a result the thinking public is definitely interested, and we hope that his plan, unfettered by cost, untrammelled by responsibility, will provoke discussion when it is exhibited before Christmas. We are most grateful for this mutually valuable experience. A similar scheme might serve other Boroughs with equally good effect.

Secondly, we want a Community Centre: we are now attempting the Herculean task of getting all—every one—of the local organizations—religious, cultural, youth, the schools—to see if we can get an agreed communal war memorial, thanks-offering or peace-gift fund. If we raise locally one pound per head—I see little difficulty in doing so—we can ask for county and national support for a substantial and beautiful contribution to our heritage: such a building can only be justified if it be welded into the daily routine of the community.

Bring the Schools to the Country

Thirdly and lastly, in our opinion the smaller County Boroughs are the ideal sites for 'public' public schools should the provision of such in adequate numbers become national policy. In the eighty years since the Public Schools Acts, private enterprise has provided boarding schools at the rate of one a year. If the State is to bear a hand to accelerate this modest progress it should find nuclei in our smaller Boroughs. Here there are already to hand those traditions and that close contact with the invigorating countryside which are twin bases of true education; and the effect on the intellectual life of the Boroughs will undoubtedly be beneficial.

In conclusion our general attitude is this: we are not enamoured of planning for planning's sake; the minimum for reasonable efficiency is our optimum.

If we define democracy as the art of drawing lines—tenuous and ill-defined—we are not interested in making democracy safe for planning, but planning safe for democracy.

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DISCUSSION

OPENED BY PROFESSOR A. W. ASHBY

Opening the discussion, Professor A. W. Ashby said that Mr. Osborn had told them that many literary and similar people who had considered the relative attractions of town and country had been doubtful about towns. One contemporary of Macaulay's had no doubts. Sidney Smith, the great English wit, said, 'Country life is very good, in fact the very best—for cattle.' In one of Charles Lamb's letters was a beautiful description of the attractiveness of towns, and E. V. Lucas had a book on *The Friendly Town*. Actually, ever since we had any record human beings had been seeking town residence for reasons of safety, variety of personal association and also because the town offered to ambitious people their best chances of realizing their ambitions.

Mr. Bulman had stressed the fact that in country towns distances were short. As to the worker walking home to his midday meal, however, the reason why many did this was not because walking distances were short but because no proper arrangements were made for transport or catering. He himself worked in an office and laboratory building on the fringe of a town which just before the war contained a population of nine thousand. Work in this building could not reasonably start before nine-fifteen because that was the time of the arrival of the only bus which passed the gate. The workers were allowed an hour and a quarter for their midday meal, but even then many of them could not spend more than from fifteen to twenty minutes with their families.

Reference had been made to the loneliness of life in great towns, but in proportion to population there were as many lonely individuals and families in small towns as in large. If a young woman was going as a stranger into a small country town, and he was advising her about her social life, he would say, 'Become a member of a church as soon as you can, but if you are ambitious select your church very carefully.'

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There were towns where a man did not stand much chance of success unless he was a member of the dominant political party, the golf club and in some cases the Freemasons. Anyone with a rationalist or socialist outlook would have to find his way very carefully. There was no small town that did not need to improve its organization for cultural work, personal association and recreation.

As regards the dispersal of industry from large to small centres, commercial and other offices depended for a high proportion of their lower grade workers on single women who lived in families mainly supported by male earners, and if such offices were going into the country it would be necessary to pay girl workers salaries high enough for them to live reasonably and decently in lodgings or hostels. An important fact with regard to dispersal was that small factories did not increase in numbers at anything like the rate of large ones. Small towns asking for industrial development should consider what size factories they wanted. Those employing from fifty to a hundred workers were most suitable, and there should be a number of these dealing with different markets.

There was a question as to who should provide and control the housing, but there was only one sound basis for housing development accompanying industrial development. It was that the houses should be provided and controlled by the local housing authorities.

The statement of policy for this Conference visualizes the decentralization or dispersal of industries, and suggests that they should not be placed in small or isolated units in the countryside but should preferably be grouped in moderate sized towns capable of providing adequate public services and social amenities. No assumption is made that all existing small towns desire or are suitable for industrial or commercial expansion; on the contrary in some cases developments of this kind may be unwelcome or undesirable.

The statement does not discuss the chief functions of many country towns and some of the primary reasons for their growth or decline, namely their functions as market and social centres for their rural hinterlands and changes therein. So perhaps some attention may be directed to their needs and potentialities in relationship with agricultural and rural communities.

There have been many causes and conditions in the establishment, growth and decline of the distinctively country towns with some special characteristics which are not closely associated with large urban centres or conglomerations.

DISCUSSION

How Towns Grew

Needs of defence, existence of defensible positions, convenience of situation for transport, accessible water supplies were amongst the early factors in the selection of town sites.

Development of exploitation of natural resources and increase in population, with the need of trading, administrative and educational centres contributed to their growth. Changes in the exploitation of natural resources or in relative transport facilities have always exercised important influences on the placing and growth of towns.

But in the last five centuries towns have been subject to the influence of many changes in industrial technology, in political conditions and in the social habits of the general population.

They have always retained their psychological attractions as places of relative safety, both physical and mental, and as communities providing for a comparatively wide choice of occupations and personal associations.

Many country and small towns have some special characteristics, as ecclesiastical or administrative centres, as 'resorts' or holiday centres, as mining or other special industry centres; or as long-distance transport nodes.

A considerable number of those which were mainly market centres, and are still so regarded, have fairly high proportions of occupied persons who are not engaged in providing services for agriculture or the rural population. Nevertheless, the welfare of a large number of country towns will continue to depend largely on their services and relationships to agriculture and the rural community and on the economic well-being of these primary economic and social partners.

General Economic Relations with Agricultural Communities

The inflow of products from the countryside to the town will depend upon the local types of farming, the intensity of production, facilities for transport and marketing. But it may also depend upon the location of plants: for physical handling and processing of raw products, whether milk, fruit, vegetables, or grain.

So as regards any individual town in a group, the types and the quantities of inflowing goods will be greatly influenced by its location in relation to other members of the group, and transport facilities; but also occasionally by other factors like water supplies.

As regards the possible requirements which local towns may hope to get from their environment and for which in any case they will

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seek sources of supplies, many conditions have to be taken into consideration. All country towns will get local supplies of milk and eggs and most of them will get such supplies of at least the commoner vegetables, with some fruits in their immediate harvest seasons. Whether they will receive purely local supplies of meat will depend on the future of organization for marketing livestock and the preparation of meat. The last subject is worthy of a good deal of consideration.

Meanwhile it must be said that the intake of local and other products for small-town consumption will be influenced by the various means of getting a livelihood, by the types of families in residence, and by varying levels of income as well as by the size of town.

The 'mining camp' or 'single industry' type will show considerable differences from a 'residential' or (holiday or health) 'resort' town. The former types, because of their failure to retain even their own richer families, and often because of low average income, will show a high proportion of necessities and a low proportion of luxuries in their intakes. The residential or resort towns, and others combining ecclesiastical, educational or administrative concentrations, will require considerable proportions of luxuries and even 'exotics'.

The Agricultural Tie-up

In respect of supplies for agriculture, the country town will provide some production and some marketing services. It will be the immediate source of a supply of implements and machinery and of the repair and maintenance of the more expensive and complicated machinery, with engineering services where they are needed. It will supply agricultural hardware and harness with some repair services, also much and in some cases all of the purchased feeding stuffs and fertilizers, and seeds.

For the general rural population the country town will supply much but not by any means all of the consumption goods.

I have written elsewhere.¹

'The types and proportions of goods which rural populations take from towns depend on the purchasing power of the rural groups themselves, local means of transport, frequency of local movement of persons, degree of fixity or adaptability of habit. The general principle is that the more necessary any type of article, the more

¹ The effects of Urban Growth on the Countryside. *Sociological Review*, vol. 31, October 1939.

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frequent its purchase, the shorter the distance between the consumer and immediate source of supply, and the nearer an article approaches a pure luxury or display character, the less frequent its purchase, the further will the consumer travel to get it. Or the greater the cash value of the purchase the longer the distance of travel for consumers' goods. For articles which have mainly a differentiating function, or a display value, the consumer often wishes to travel as far as his means will allow.

'Although it is not possible to put exact distance values on these differences the following figures illustrate the position:

<i>Commodity</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Common distance (miles) up to:</i>
Sweets, Tobacco	Village, small town	3
<i>Food necessities:</i> Bread, meat, common gro- ceries	Village, small town	8
Pharmaceutical goods	Small town	8
	Larger town	10
Household equipment	Small town	10
	Large town	30
Working clothes	Small town	10
Children's clothes	Large town	10—30
Better clothing	Larger town if possible	15—30
Display clothing	Provincial centre, re- gional metropolis	50—100
<i>Jewellery:</i> Cheap	Small town	10
Expensive	Large town, metropolis	150
Cheap furniture	Small town	15
	Large town	50
Better furniture	Larger town or provin- cial centre	50—100
Banking	Large village (part- time)	3—5
	Small town	8

'The small market town will be the source of many common necessities for most of the families in its area, and the source of their highest luxuries for the poorest families. As regards other traffic, it may be the centre for minor administrative activities—the Rural District Council, the Petty Sessional Court; it may be a centre of

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higher education of the central or secondary school type, it will provide the lower-grade services in law, medicine, and dentistry, and the lower grades of commercial entertainment. More particularly in the case of some of the nonconformist churches the small town may be a centre of religious organization and leadership. It may be a centre of culture, with choral, debating, library or adult educational activities.'

Markets and Community Welfare

Many country towns have established markets of one kind or another, some held on the basis of old charters and others of more modern foundation.

Every country town is jealous of its market rights so long as they are used, and sometimes when the market has ceased to function at all effectively.

In some cases auctioneers wishing to extend connections for their secondary business in insurances, valuations, etc., have established small livestock marts in quite small towns somewhat to the detriment of the livestock trade. Once a market or a mart is established it brings to the centre a certain amount of demand for goods and services of both consumption and production character.

The most difficult matter in respect of needs and potentialities of towns which depend to a considerable extent on agricultural marketing is to convince townsmen that their economic welfare depends on that of the agricultural and the village communities.

This may and almost certainly will require redistribution of functions in country towns, large and small.

The towns likely to lose certain functions wish to preserve their 'rights' and the *status quo*, however the retention may retard agricultural development and prosperity. Some agricultural systems showed marked changes, nearly all showed some changes, in the first forty years of this century. The functions of many country towns changed with them to some extent, and on the whole country towns did not suffer. They would have suffered far more if agriculturists had not adapted their systems to changing economic and social circumstances.

Agricultural Influences on Town Growth

When agricultural systems change there may be a reduction in demand for some kinds of goods and services, but when the changes in agricultural systems increase agricultural revenues and the in-

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comes which agriculturists may use for personal purposes the total trade of the towns concerned will be increased.

If the change is primarily of 'marketing' character, like the pre-war Pig Marketing Scheme, it may deprive certain towns of one part of their trading revenue. When it succeeds in raising agricultural revenues and personal incomes it brings a greater volume of trading revenue to the towns concerned. Some traders or functionaries may suffer, or may have to change the nature of their trade or services to some extent, while others are directly stimulated to extend or develop their trade or services, but the whole town will gain when agricultural revenues and incomes increase.

There may even be an important negative consideration. On some occasions it may be necessary that systems of agricultural production or marketing be changed in order to maintain revenues and incomes and thus to provide the local towns with the total amount of demand of trade and service character which they have previously enjoyed.

When country towns stand in the way of improvements in systems of agricultural marketing they do so to their own detriment.

Country towns will compete with each other to retain marts and markets, at least by legal and social methods, although many of them have shown little enterprise in improving physical and business facilities for marketing farm produce. Proposals to remove or cease operation of a mart or market will bring a storm of criticism from an Urban District or a Borough Council, or a Chamber of Commerce, without any consideration of farmers' real needs or the basis of their welfare, or of the future general trade of the town.

Development of motor transport for marketing farm produce has brought many changes: it will bring many more. Signs of radical changes, particularly in respect of livestock, were obvious in a number of areas before 1939.

The Ministry of Food has now organized the marketing of all types of fat stock, reduced the number of slaughter-houses, and concentrated the preparation of meat for human consumption. It is to be hoped that we may never return to the pre-war system: rather that we may obtain considerable technical and other developments in the system now in operation.

But, generally, motor transport is likely to extend farmers' opportunities of selecting selling places for their produce and sources of supplies of requirements.

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There may be a little of what appears to be waste of transport. On the other hand, effective marketing of farm produce, effective organization of supply of urban consumers' needs, requires such concentration of supplies as renders possible the selection and grading of produce, and its appropriate technical treatment.

Market Requirements

After a study of East Anglia, R. E. Dickinson stated:

'It is common ground that many markets are redundant, a fact which is well illustrated in East Anglia, where, incidentally, there are relatively few markets as compared with other parts of the country. Many small markets draw few buyers and sellers, and the farmer would in fact get better bargains by travelling further to bigger markets. This in fact is a general tendency in East Anglia, and it is strongly encouraged by the Ministry of Agriculture (except in areas where small markets do sometimes serve a useful purpose) as a healthy economic trend in modern marketing organization.'¹

Similar conditions will be found in other parts of the country. Before this war began a committee representative of local authorities, farmers' organizations, and traders, was appointed to consider the provisions for livestock marketing in Brecon and Radnor (where nearly all farm products are of this character). It had secured a survey of all facilities and was proceeding to consider needs and possible improvement or reorganization. Surveys were also made in other areas. For the time being this work is in abeyance.

But suggestions for reorganization of farmers' markets, perhaps particularly for livestock, will never be popular with urban communities because of fear of immediate effects of changes, failure to appreciate what will happen if changes are not planned, and failure to realize the effects of appropriate changes on the welfare of agricultural communities and their secondary effects in raising the welfare of their urban partners.

Farmers are often charged with conservatism, but their attitudes are not more rigid than those of traders in country towns, whose attitudes may sometimes be described as those of preservatism.

Before the war certain towns which were obviously well-placed to function as marketing centres for farm produce were considering the physical facilities provided. These facilities are frequently out of date and inadequate, and occasionally they may be described as incon-

¹ R. E. Dickinson: *The Social Basis of Physical Planning. Sociological Review.*

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venient and insanitary. The number of centres with both adequate space and equipment is relatively small.

The main considerations for market centres are adequate space; appropriate surfaces and arrangements for traffic, washing, and drainage; convenient access, facilities for loading and unloading by motor and rail; adequate cover for beasts and men, with adequate 'ring' and general provisions for selling including display of weights or selling by weight.

While there are some remarkably well-equipped markets, most others are deficient in one or more particulars and some in all.

Spacing and Size of Towns

It may be impractical to consider the needs and potentialities of country towns without paying some attention to rural communities.

There is no real definition of village or town in this country: one class fades into the other. Perhaps the best definition of a village is that of 'a collection of houses, larger than a hamlet, in a country district, usually an ancient settlement, containing a church, with one or more service institutions such as school or shop, and forming the residential nucleus of a parish'.¹ A town is 'a large group of houses and some service institutions for commerce, education, entertainment and religion, with fixed distinguishing name; larger than a village, but not entitled by charter or usage to the name of "city"'. Local government definitions, as is well known, do not provide adequate guides to distinctions.

For present purposes the characteristics of a town are best indicated by the range of its service functions and supplies—one or more of each kind of 'food' shop (grocer, butcher, fishmonger, baker and confectioner, greengrocer, restaurant), one or more of each kind of 'clothing' shop (clothing, boots and shoes); one ironmongery or hardware store, one or more pharmacies; one stationer and book-seller; one or more banking places; comprehensive service garage; a jeweller's shop or store offering watches and clocks and some jewellery; one solicitor's office; one or more doctors; one dentist; a secondary school. Many analysts might be inclined to add a market place or mart—facilities for the primary collection and sale of local produce for distribution outside the local service area. This is not

¹ Hamlet—a small group of houses in a country district, containing only a small proportion of the local population, and meagrely supplied, if at all, with service institutions; but there are some variations.

COUNTRY TOWNS: THEIR POTENTIALITIES AND NEEDS necessary, and in the future there may be many effective and prosperous small towns with minimum functions of this character. But the social-commercial group which lacks one of the types of institution mentioned cannot be an effective service centre.

R. E. Dickinson (following W. Christaller)¹ and E. A. Gutkind² have suggested 'grades' of towns:

SUGGESTED GRADES OF TOWNS AND DISTANCES

<i>Dickinson (following Christaller)</i>				<i>Gutkind</i>		
Grade	Population	Service Area		Population	Service Area	
	(000)	Radius (miles)	Area (sq. miles)		Radius (miles)	Area (sq. miles)
1	1	4.5	18	.8	2.5-3.0	17
2	2	7.5	54	1.5	7.5	54
3	4	13.0	160	3.5	14.0	160
4	10	22.5	470	9.0	22.5	480
5	30	39.0	1,500	27.0	38.5	1,500
6	100	67.5	4,500	90.0	67.5	4,300
7	500	116.0	13,500	300.0	112.0	13,000

It has been suggested that the minimum population for a satisfactory rural community is 1,000, 'which will support a church, a school, village clubs and the everyday retail services'.³ Only a minority of villages are likely to reach this size.

The general pattern of rural settlement is likely to remain much as it is at present—scattered homesteads, hamlets, villages of various sizes and characteristics. The development of large farms might frequently change the location or the importance of some homesteads and cottage groups, but except possibly in a few districts it is not likely to make any radical change in the general patterns of settlement. From such view of general prospects as can now be taken it may be expected that some hamlets will decline, others may rise in size and importance; many will remain much as they are except for possible improvements in housing. It will not be surprising if there is more concentration of population in villages. Some small villages

¹ Social Basis of Physical Planning (as above).

² *Creative Demobilisation*, vol. 1, p. 106.

³ H. J. E. Peake: 'The Regrouping of the Rural Population,' *Geographical Teacher* 1917; and R. E. Dickinson, 'The Social Basis of Physical Planning', *Sociological Review*.

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may actually decline, while others will remain at much their present size.

On the whole it may be expected that the larger villages will grow, particularly where they can secure piped water supplies and sanitation, electricity and fair transport facilities.

Rural community organization is certain to be subject to changes. The spacing of towns or, more properly, of places with town functions, will also change. Rural settlement is obviously influenced by the nature of the country, existence of natural resources and enterprise in their exploitation, transport arrangements and services of both physical and social character (e.g. water supplies and schools).

Urban changes will also be affected by the nature of the country, and existence of natural resources and enterprise in their exploitation, but also by business enterprise in the location of industries not necessarily 'rooted in the local soil'.

The Effect of Transport

Urban settlement and growth are likely to be even more subject to the influence of changes in transport than rural.

Towns conveniently located for future transport are likely to grow while others less favoured may remain much as they are, and some of the least favoured, especially the smaller, may occasionally show decline. Conditions of supplies of water and electricity for industrial purposes are also likely to exercise considerable influence on the future of a number of smaller towns.

As far as the prospects of redistribution of industries can now be judged, it appears that their agricultural connections will still remain of great importance to a large proportion of country towns.

In any case, they are not likely to become negligible in more than a very few of the cases in which they are now important.

While it is probable that a number of small towns may show further decline as primary markets for agricultural products, their importance as shopping and service centres may be maintained or increased.

But here much depends upon direction of transport services and the extension of service institutions like schools (senior, secondary, and technical) and increase and improvement in entertainment and cultural activities.

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Grades and Changes

Dickinson has 'graded' country towns in East Anglia and described some trends of change. Those in Grade I have a large livestock market, several banks, a large number of shops, a cinema, a newspaper, a secondary school and some local industries. The majority have between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants and two persons occupied in commercial and administrative services to one person in industry. These towns are spaced at intervals of fifteen to twenty miles and they have increased in population since 1850. Grade II with small markets, bank and specialized retail services (grocer, chemist, outfitter), have populations ranging between 1,500 and 4,000 inhabitants, but have declined in population and commercial importance. Grade III as a rule have no industries and no markets although each has a bank and specialized retail services. Populations range between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants but they have declined since 1851. The decline of towns in Grades II and III 'is due mainly to the advent of rapid transport by rail and road and the increased competition of the towns of Grade I'.¹ Towns of Grades II and III are spaced at intervals of about ten to fifteen miles.²

While it has already been said that the spacing and size of country towns will partly depend on the nature of the country, the existence of natural resources and their exploitation, and transport facilities and the density of population arising from these, and then upon whatever 'free-footed' industries may be introduced, it may still be useful to describe a desirable minimum size of towns.

Provision of Services

The town conditions which are desirable from the point of view of country people are:

1. **SUITABLE FACILITIES FOR MARKETING PRODUCE** which can be sold effectively in local primary markets. (The vexed question of the provision of a market-hall or street market for the retail sale of local produce, and for stalls for outside traders, must be treated according to local customs and needs; it does not appear possible to apply any general principle. Amongst those now to be seen, some are healthy and flourishing, others appear to be rapidly becoming out-moded.)

2. **ADEQUATE TRANSPORT ARRANGEMENTS FOR GOODS AND PASSENGERS** by rail and road, with adequate parking space for private

¹ R. E. Dickinson, 'Social Basis of Physical Planning.'

² See also Table page 52 above.

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cars, lorries and omnibuses, and a bus station with shelter and conveniences, including a rest room and 'left luggage' office.

3. A FULL RANGE OF SUPPLY SERVICES IN AGRICULTURAL REQUIREMENTS, according to the varying needs of different systems of farming, but usually including supply of implements and spare parts and some repair services, general hardware supply, and supply of feeding stuffs, fertilizers, and seeds.

4. CHOICE OF BANKING SERVICES.

5. A FULL RANGE OF SUPPLY OF RETAIL SHOPPING FACILITIES providing choice not only of grocers but of chemists, drapers and outfitters; including also supplies of domestic hardware, furniture and household equipment, jewellery and at least one good source of stationery and books.¹ The town will be all the more attractive if it contains two or more representatives of the 'chain-stores' dealing in foodstuffs, and one store of the 'Woolworth' type—of which there are some local variations.

6. A CHOICE OF GOOD REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE GARAGES and at least one sales agent for cars (garages maintaining stocks of spares).

7. ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF CAFES AND RESTAURANTS, including the cheaper and the more expensive types.

8. MOST COUNTRY TOWNS ARE FAIRLY ADEQUATELY SUPPLIED AS REGARDS NUMBERS OF PUBLIC HOUSES (though many of these could be improved to advantage), but country people are indirectly concerned with hotel accommodation, particularly where buyers need to be attracted to their markets.

9. ONE GOOD CINEMA ABLE TO SHOW THE BEST FILMS, within a reasonable time of issue, UNDER HYGIENIC AND PLEASANT CONDITIONS.²

Besides these institutions and services, country people will also be interested, in varying proportions and degrees, in the higher grade schools, halls for the use of industrial organizations (N.F.U., Workers' Unions, and others), for political, adult educational, and cultural activities, and in a public library, especially where connections are established with the County Library and the service is fully developed.

¹ See range of shopping distances, page 47.

² In some areas, at least, the operation of a Film Society, with both town and village members, would improve the demand for and supply of films and strengthen the local cinema. Provisions for musical and dramatic activities are not discussed here because they are receiving specific consideration.

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The minimum size of town which is likely fully to meet these requirements is usually one of 7,000 inhabitants and often they will be better met by a town of 10,000.

Suggestions may be made that most if not all towns of 7,000 make these provisions, but both their quantities and qualities show very wide variations. It has been said above that there are few primary markets adequately equipped for modern purposes and the majority if not all of these are found in larger towns. It may, perhaps, be expected that all towns of this size will be able to get the omnibus services required to meet all the effective demands for passenger transport to and from their hinterlands. Most of them need to improve the accommodation of 'omnibus station' type. The supply of garage and café services varies very widely. The well-equipped centres are often those with a good deal of 'through' traffic or those catering for 'visitors'. There are many opportunities for improving restaurant and café services in country towns. A number of towns of about 7,000, particularly with a high proportion of 'professional' or similar residents, support two reasonably good cinemas. There are few towns of about this size which do not need to review one or more of the listed provisions.

Advantages of the Trading Estate

Another provision which deserves consideration in relation to towns of 7—10,000 inhabitants, that of small trading estates, may link up with the consideration of the redistribution of industries.

But somewhat apart from possibilities in this direction, there are many small towns with dark, insanitary and inconvenient workshops some of which are not required to be contiguous to retail shops or dwelling houses.

It would appear to be hygienic and economical, when there are a dozen or more of these, to lay out a small industrial centre with roads, water, drainage, power supply and possibly some workshops for renting.

Where there are possibilities of attracting small, new industries, the removal of some existing workshops to more convenient sites and better buildings would be economical and desirable.

Smaller Towns and Educational Advances

Although they cannot meet them fully, the smaller towns need to do their utmost to meet most of the requirements listed in respect of

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their larger neighbours if they are to retain their positions in the post-war period.

Extensions and improvements of omnibus services are likely to extend the travelling ranges of country people, give them a wider choice of centres for services and entertainments, and thus increase the competitive attractions of the larger towns. The smaller towns particularly need to improve the provisions made for omnibus stations,¹ providing adequate space, shelter and conveniences.

There should, however, be special possibilities for the small towns. The recent White Paper on *Educational Reconstruction*² proposes more legislative changes:

1. To raise the school-leaving age to 15 without exemption, and later to 16; (2) for completion of the reorganization of the present elementary schools to secure that secondary schools with varied facilities for advanced work are provided for all children over 11 years of age; (3) for the introduction of a system of compulsory part-time education in working hours for young persons up to the age of 18 years; (4) for the provision of adequate and properly co-ordinated facilities for technical and adult education. The proposals respecting 'secondary' schools include those now known as senior and secondary. These are to be developed as 'modern' 'grammar' and 'junior technical' types.

There is practically certain to be an increase in number and improvement in quality of the 'senior' or 'modern' schools.

In many areas admirable examples exist of fully developed senior schools, but they are still too few in number. The further advance of schools of this type depends on the longer school life for the pupils, a more complete reorganization, better buildings and amenities, and a more generous scale of 'staffing'. Many country towns have suffered from entirely inadequate provisions for technical education, junior (13 to 16 years) and senior (16+).

The small country towns should provide sites and other facilities for these developments in educational provisions.

In some areas there is a tendency to set senior schools 'in the open country', away from villages or towns, but there is no real sociological or educational justification of this practice.

Every possible school should be placed within an integrated com-

¹ Or to use a less imposing term, a place properly equipped for alighting and boarding, but always providing nearby shelter and conveniences.

² Cmd. 6458, 1943.

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munity. With modern transport the children of most areas can be collected in adequate groups for economical and efficient processes of education.

There is also special need of improving provisions for technical education. There are numerous towns in need of a technical school equipped for both day and evening work,¹ and again transport should be used to carry pupils from villages. When part-time compulsory education for youths of 16 begins, Young People's Colleges are to be provided. The White Paper also directs particular attention to Youth Service. Facilities for adult education are to be improved.

Educational and Social Activities

In these and other connections many of the smaller and smallest towns have great need of a community centre, a public hall adequately equipped with stage; heating and lighting for various purposes; with associated committee and similar rooms.

Possibly a health room for clinic and similar work, possibly also a crèche, and with a kitchen and plentiful cloakroom accommodation.

The general development of educational and social activities in rural areas should give many small towns opportunities for strengthening their relationships with the countryside, and bringing in trade of different kinds which will provide compensation for some trade they seem likely to lose as a result of economic changes. Many of the smaller and smallest towns must show some enterprise if they are not to suffer considerable loss from the competition of their larger neighbours.

Need of a Survey of Country Town Development

The assessment of the present position and future prospects of almost any individual town means pushing consideration far beyond its boundaries.

We need a survey of a well-defined geographical region, its resources and its future economic opportunities, transport facilities and requirements, general population trends, individual towns and the service they provide, and services required by the population.

County authorities should survey their areas, and sometimes in co-operation with neighbours, before they select sites for educational

¹ Advancement in provisions for agricultural education is also expected but agricultural education does not meet all the needs of village youth in technical education.

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developments. Some of the factors to be considered in siting schools lie outside the field of educational organization in that of general economic and social activities. Changes in the importance of individual towns appear to be almost inevitable. Unco-ordinated efforts to accelerate or to avoid them, as the case may be, will lead to waste.

Certain changes, other than the redistribution or dispersal of industry, could be planned.

There is danger in economic drift: some cases of possible stagnation or decline likely to lead to social dissatisfaction might be avoided by sound social planning. An increase in urban population in the less densely populated areas is highly desirable on general social grounds.

The rural population, especially those in the lower income groups, are likely to obtain considerable economic and social benefits from the growth of country towns and increases in their services.

They may be immediately concerned with improvements in shopping services, educational developments, and social activities in small towns, but they will also be concerned with economic conditions and with the opportunities and services offered in the larger towns.

Industrial Innovations

Much has been said about industries inappropriate to rural environments. Much the same objections may be raised to some possible industrial innovations in the more characteristic of the country towns.

It does not appear to be recognized that some characteristics of certain industries which are objectionable in a rural or small town environment are almost equally objectionable elsewhere.¹ They do not appear so objectionable where they are because, perhaps, they have already done most of the damage they are likely to do; because we are used to them and their effects on the environment where they are; because we think the people who now suffer from their effects are used to them and feel them less than would a fresh group; but also because we are less interested in the people and the landscapes now suffering than we are in their rural or country town counterparts. It seems necessary to say, if platitudinously, that industries which are socially necessary must be carried on somewhere, and certain groups may be called upon to suffer deprivations for the

¹ For one extensive list of industries said to be suitable and unsuitable for rural areas see *Journal of the Chartered Surveyors' Institution*, vol. 21, Part 8, February 1942.

COUNTRY TOWNS: THEIR POTENTIALITIES AND NEEDS

general good. Suggestions that the physically undesirable industries should never be placed in a rural or country town environment may arise mainly from self-interests of either primary or secondary character, like fear of danger to property values or of dangers to scenery.

There are two possible sets of dangers, physical and social, in transfer or location of some industries. Those which are physically objectionable because of fluid wastes not readily amenable to treatment should obviously be placed where drainage is rapid and effective. But beet sugar factories, and more particularly milk factories, which are apt to produce objectionable fluid wastes, have been established a long way inland. Industries objectionable because of production of fumes or dust may well remain where they are, and if extensions are necessary sites should be chosen with due attention to conditions of economic operation and the least necessary damage to neighbouring interests. Some other industries which appear to be objectionable mainly on aesthetic grounds should not be allowed to spoil sites of special aesthetic value, but need not be entirely excluded from rural or country town environments.

Social dangers are most likely to arise from large factories or plants employing large numbers of workers—the danger of dependence of employment (and therefore of values of residential property and trading incomes also) on one industry or firm; with that of the possible political and social domination of the local community by one firm and its agents. Business operators and employers in large industrial centres, or densely populated areas, are subject to many powerful checks which are absent or weak in places in which they dominate the economic and social scene. Some industries and firms can continue to provide regular employment for long periods: others show fluctuating positions due to general industrial or economic causes, or to causes arising within the individual business. Certain industries or firms, particularly those organized in ‘combine’ or monopoly form, can afford to be generous to workers and the communities in which they operate, but not all industries and firms are able or willing to adopt generous social attitudes.

For balance of employment and steady trading conditions, therefore, with balance of political and social interests and powers, it is desirable that individual industries and firms to be established in country towns should be small in relation to the total population including the industrial addition.

For example, in a town with 10,000 inhabitants it will be better to

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have four industries each with 150 employees than one with 600. It will even be better to have two, if they have somewhat different characteristics and conditions of operating, than to have one. But the authorities of most distinctively country towns expecting to attract new industries will hope to attract small industries or firms, often those employing not more than fifty, or at most not more than one hundred workers. If they are planning industrial and trading estates, they may provide for the workshop or repair garage employing, say, five men, up to the factory using 100 men and women. In some country towns factories providing appropriate employment for women will be particularly appreciated by the working classes and those with whom they trade.

MR. L. GORDON HALES (Town Clerk, Borough of Bewdly), said he represented one of the smaller towns with ancient charters. Possibly there were some people who did not fully realize how badly the small towns were in need of help, and he would like to mention one or two plain hard facts.

A little over a year ago the question of local government had been raised, and various bodies, official and semi-official, had set up a defensive barrage of reports and memoranda. No bones had been made about the fact that this defensive barrage involved the complete obliteration of the small town.

The ancient boroughs were members, either directly or indirectly, of three of the associations that took part in this defensive operation, and it might have been expected that the rights and interests of those ancient boroughs would have received consideration, and within reason been protected when the reports drawn up by those associations were issued. But that was not the case. At a later date when protests had been made by some of the small boroughs, the associations acknowledged their rights and interests but held out no hopes of substantially constructive support.

Those concerned with the problem were beginning to fear the days of the small town were numbered when there came the welcome news that the Town and Country Planning Association had taken up the cause of the country towns. The ancient boroughs must give the association their unbounded support and accept any progressive proposals put forward.

A DELEGATE who said he belonged essentially to the great rural area in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham, said the aspiration

COUNTRY TOWNS: THEIR POTENTIALITIES AND NEEDS of planners in small country towns seemed to be to attract industries. But the countryside had given birth to the country town, and the town's main interest should lie with the countryside. If you got a strong community of interest in a given district you inevitably found the focal centre was a small market town. Whether jam or pickle factories or the like could be established often depended on whether local services were adequate for a development of that kind. This remark did not apply to industrial districts in Lancashire but 75 per cent of the country towns in England and Wales were nurtured by the countryside and should do what they could to help the countryside. Before thinking of what it could do for outsiders let the country town look to the people who supported it and give them bus shelters, feeding centres and other proper conveniences.

MR. GEORGE WHITCOMB (Ripley U.D.C.) said that people in Derbyshire were very much perturbed by the migration of industry to the south or wherever it has been pleased to go uncontrolled. They had watched with much anxiety and dismay the industrial areas in Northumberland and Durham and Wales collapsing. When a district became derelict, the Government did not hesitate to pour out money to restore it, and relieve a situation that ought never to have arisen. He hoped that one of the things that would result from the Conference was some reference to the Barlow Report. It was now nearly four years since that Report had been published, and up to the present there had been no declaration of policy from the Government as to what their intentions were.

When Hitler had attacked this country the small country towns had taken the children from the big cities and housed, fed, clothed and where necessary cleansed them. Then had come the business of war camps and all the essential services of the country towns had stood up to this test. When war came it was too late to talk about water, sewerage, and other amenities, but the country towns provided them. He hoped that those responsible for the drafting of resolutions to come before the Conference would draft one asking the Government for a declaration of policy concerning the Barlow Report. It was the duty of the Government to consider the interests of the small country towns in regard to industry.

SESSION TWO

INDUSTRIAL ESTATES IN COUNTRY TOWNS: SITING, LAYOUT, DEVELOPMENT, AND ADMINISTRATION

CHAIRMAN: G. L. PEPLER, F.S.I., P.P.T.P.I.

Chairman's Opening Remarks

Mr. Pepler said that country towns were among our most precious possessions and were magnets that drew back to our shores our brothers and sisters in the Dominions and Colonies and our American cousins. Many had retained their special character, but some had become submerged in suburbia, some lost to industry, and some stagnant. The Conference was concerned in this session with the country town to which additional industry and workers could properly be brought by decentralization from an overgrown, overcrowded town.

First there must be a complete analysis of the town and a decision as to the types and amount of industry it could absorb. Next would come the plan which would provide for a balanced community, in which each part would bear proper relation to the whole. Communications would require most careful consideration and the old core of the town saved from congestion.

The town, when the additions were completed, should have suffered loss of neither character nor dignity.

INDUSTRIAL ESTATES IN COUNTRY TOWNS: SITING, LAYOUT, DEVELOPMENT, AND ADMINISTRATION

STATEMENT

BY R. L. REISS

(Deputy Chairman Welwyn Garden City)

Mr. R. L. Reiss said he had been a member of the Committee of the Ministry of Health at the end of the last war. This committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, considered the problem presented by the unhealthy slum areas of the big towns. It sat for two years, visited a large number of towns, heard a large number of witnesses and produced two reports, the first published in 1920 and dealt with the special problem of London. Among other things stated in that report was that the overwhelming evidence was that working-class families did not want to live in high blocks of flats. Therefore the Committee had condemned the dealing with congested areas in big towns by going up vertically.

Our object is to reduce congestion in the big cities and prevent suburban sprawl by the development of existing small towns and to a limited extent, of new towns. This can only be achieved by the locating of industry in those towns. But existing firms will not move to, or new industries be established in a country town merely by its council 'zoning' an area for industry. It must pursue an active policy of constructive planning and publicity. It must have a good proposition and a good sales organization.

The total population is tending to become stationary. Country towns, therefore can only secure addition of population and industry by drawing them from the congested cities and industrial networks. Between the two wars, there was an increasing tendency for industry and population to leave the central areas of the big towns. While a few migrated to small towns, the great majority settled on the outskirts of the big towns. This also applied to new industries. Thus nearly half a million people and a number of industries left the London County between the wars, but practically all settled in

Greater London. In Birmingham, the central and middle wards declined in population by 150,000 but the outer wards increased by over 270,000. The main reasons for this were:

- (a) A large reservoir of labour.
- (b) The big town was carrying out large housing schemes on its outskirts and speculative builders were active.
- (c) A large market close at hand.
- (d) General conservatism and a feeling of risk in moving further afield, e.g. would their key men be willing to move.

But there was a minority both of existing and new industries which settled in country towns, mostly in the London orbit, such as Guildford, Luton, Chelmsford and Bedford. Those that did so were actuated by various considerations, such as the ability to acquire a site large enough for future expansion at a lower cost or sometimes lower wage rates. Some also have developed in country towns for individual reasons; e.g. Morris's works at Oxford, and Crittalls at Braintree. This last is interesting because it led the firm to establish another works at Witham, a small town reasonably nearby with better rail communications and where an additional labour supply could be tapped, and also to develop a new industrial village at Silverend.

As to how far there will be decentralization after the war will depend on two factors:

- (a) Government policy.
- (b) Local activity.

Even if the Government does make it part of a national plan, no individual town will automatically get industry without an active policy. But even if the Government does not wholeheartedly adopt decentralization, small towns, well situated, can by their own efforts secure an increase of industry and population. Letchworth and Welwyn secured both without a national policy of decentralization though they would have got more with one.

How to Begin

How then shall small towns proceed?

1. They should study the factors which industrialists take into account in deciding where they will locate themselves. Some of these are:

Proximity of Raw materials. This has become a minor factor for most light industries.

Distribution involving road and rail communications and the proximity of

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large markets. Obviously Guildford and Chelmsford are better suited for this purpose than a small town in North Norfolk.

Labour supply. This is vital. A small town has not got any considerable reservoir of labour. To attract industry it must show to the employer how he will be able to secure and keep his labour. He will have to be satisfied that there will be adequate housing, facilities for recreation, both indoor and outdoor, good shops and other amenities.

The suitability of the industrial site itself, its communications and public services.

2. Having considered these the Council must decide whether their location affords a sufficient chance of securing industry to justify embarking on a bold policy, and then convince the Government departments concerned so as to secure approval to e.g. substantial housing schemes in advance of requirements, development of their public utilities, etc. Whilst many country towns should be able to do this if they are determined, the location of some towns and the facilities they can offer will not justify this policy.

3. Having decided on a bold policy the council should secure the best consultant available to prepare a comprehensive Town Plan and must decide matters of major policy such as:

The ultimate size of the town? It is suggested that this should be from 30,000 to 60,000.

How is a green belt to be preserved round the ultimate town?

How is the town to be planned so as to secure the best conditions for the population and attract industry?

The location and extent of the areas for industry, who is to own them and how they are to be developed.

This last is my subject.

Location of the Industrial Areas

More land is suitable for residence than industry. The industrial areas should therefore be selected first. The whole industrial area should be in one or two large parcels, rather than a number of small ones. But topography and existing development may not make this possible in some towns.

The prime considerations in selecting an industrial area are:

Good road and rail communications. The latter is less important than the former. Few light industries require sidings and providing the area is reasonably accessible to the railway, road communica-

tions are the most important. So far as possible the main road access should avoid the residential areas.

The land is reasonably level or has a gentle slope.

Reasonable proximity to the residential areas. In a small town this is easy to secure.

In a new town such as Letchworth or Welwyn, the selection of the industrial areas was unhampered by existing development. But in a country town it will generally be necessary to have the industrial area on the outskirts of existing development.

How Big?

What should be the extent of the Industrial Areas?

It is difficult to dogmatize as to this. Modern tendencies are towards larger areas required for a given number of employees. *It is better initially to reserve too much than too little land for industry. One of the great advantages a small town can offer industry is the opportunity to expand.* Some expand rapidly. At Welwyn one firm expanded from two employees to over 2,000 in ten years; another took ten acres in 1938, four more in 1939, and now wants a further seventeen acres for post-war development. A general average on industrial estates is from forty to sixty employees per net industrial acre (see Professor Holford's article in the *Town Planning Institute Journal*, March 1939). At Welwyn, in our recently revised plan, we contemplate an ultimate population within the urban district of 35,000. For this population we are reserving 420 gross acres for industry. This is roughly twelve acres per thousand of population, and on the basis of thirty employees per gross acre or forty per net acre, provides for 13,000 industrial workers. As a percentage of the whole estate it represents nearly 15 per cent (incidentally of the remaining 85 per cent about 55 per cent will be used for residential, commercial, and civic purposes, 30 per cent being open spaces, parks, and agriculture).

Owning and Developing

There are three possible alternatives for the ownership and development of industrial areas in country towns.

- (a) The Local Authority acquiring and developing itself.
- (b) The existing owners developing.
- (c) Arranging with a Company with experience to acquire and develop.

Of these (b) will certainly be unsatisfactory if the ownership is

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divided. If the estate all belongs to one owner capable and willing to co-operate actively, it might be possible though unlikely. As between (a) and (c), I do not offer a definite view except that if the first is adopted the Council will have to be bold in capital expenditure and be prepared to employ a really skilled staff, and if the third is selected, a really good experienced firm with a broad outlook must be selected. There are possible combinations of (a) and (c), e.g. the local authority might acquire the whole estate, construct the principal roads, provide the sewers, etc., and lease it in large blocks to a developing company. I do not deal with the legal aspects which are the subject of Mr. Swift's paper.

Suggestions for Development

It would be wrong to lay down rigid rules about the way development should be carried out. Much depends on the nature of the individual estate and its existing communications. The following are merely suggestions based on Welwyn experience.

Roads. Main communications in all directions are important. They help to determine the general line of the principal roads through the estate. The width of these should be at least 50 feet. At the start the carriageway need not be more than 18 or 21 feet with verges enabling expansion to 30 feet leaving 10 feet for each footway. The building line should be set back 25 feet giving a total width between buildings of at least 100 feet.

The lines of the principal roads should be such as to permit of the sites being at least 200 feet deep and mostly at least 300 feet. But a number of the sites must be from 700 to 1,000 feet deep.

Having decided on the lines of the principal roads the detailed planning should be as flexible as possible.

Railway Sidings. Nowadays only a few—and those the larger—factories require sidings. The sites which can be so served should be the larger ones. Therefore the sites backing on to the railway should be at least 700 feet deep. A good plan is to arrange that the principal roads parallel to the railway have sites from 700 to 1,000 feet deep on one side and 200 to 400 feet on the other.

The Factories. The developing authority must recognize at the outset that it has got to *attract* firms. The greatest difficulty is to secure the first few. Most of the possibles will be small. They will have limited capital, which they will require to use in their business rather than to sink in buildings. Although small at the start they will

envisage the possibility of expansion. Most, therefore, will want to rent a small factory, and to know that if they expand they can either get an extension, or be able to leave it at short notice and build or have built for them, a new factory especially adapted to their purposes on a spacious site.

Letchworth and Welwyn have found it both necessary and profitable to construct factories for letting.

At the outset, therefore, the developer must be prepared to build sectional factories for letting, and to build them in advance of their actually being disposed of. They must also be willing to build factories for individual firms suited to their own requirements. At Welwyn we have been able to secure as a rack rent a sum which covers the ground rent and in addition a sum sufficient to cover interest and amortization at 7 or 8 per cent. As a local authority can borrow lower than a company there is a greater profit rental to be obtained. This in the earlier stages helps to meet the interest on the cost of acquisition of the undeveloped land and at later stages shows a substantial profit which can be set against such necessary but not directly remunerative expenditure as community centres.

The developing authority, therefore, should be able to offer either (a) a site on which the firm can erect its own factory, (b) a sectional factory already built, or (c) suitable terms for erecting a factory on a selected site, adapted to the needs of the particular firm.

Sectional factories built for letting should be of varying size. There should be sufficient land at the rear so that each bay can be extended, sufficient space for accumulation of crates, waste products, etc., at the rear. The last group of sectional factories built at Welwyn was designed as follows:

Each bay had a frontage of 40 feet. Some of them were constructed to a depth of 100 feet, some 75 feet, and some 65 feet. A secondary road was constructed at the rear leaving a space of from 30 feet to 60 feet. The secondary or service road was 20 feet wide, thus giving ample space for lorries to pass each other. On the further side of the service road space was left for the construction of garages. The garages should be on the opposite side of the service road to the factory and its yard. The factories should be single storey, though some may have two-storied offices in front.

As regards factories required by larger firms it is desirable to be elastic in the letting of sites. Whilst it may be apparently more economical to concentrate the first factories near to each other it will

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probably be found that some industries may desire a site away from existing development so as to give room for expansion. If the firm is a substantial one it may well pay to do this even though the initial cost may be greater.

I give some examples of sites let at Welwyn to a few specimen firms who were going to build their own factory.

Firm A. Site taken 6.7 acres. Portion of land only built on first, remainder being used for football ground. Later the factory was practically doubled and only the tennis courts were retained.

Firm B. In December 1930 took 11 acres. In January 1936 acquired an additional 4.5 acres.

Firm C. Took a site of 10 acres in 1938 and wanted an addition of 4 acres in 1939. Are now asking for a further 17 acres.

Staff and Organization

A local authority wishing to attract industry must have a first class staff. If it is going to develop itself it should have an industrial manager with a flair for publicity but at the same time with a practical ability to understand the needs of industry. A town planning assistant at £350 will be useless for this purpose. The general instructions to the manager should be to study the requirements of firms and to endeavour to provide them with a service which will attract them. If, however, the Council decides to get a company to develop its industrial areas, or a substantial portion of it, they should give the company every assistance and should be very careful in selecting the company that is to do it. Whether the developer is the Council itself or some other organization, industrial development depends upon an active policy and considerable boldness in putting it into effect.

Finally it is not sufficient to get industrial firms—it is vitally important to keep them. The extent to which firms who have established themselves in the town are satisfied with the services they receive will affect considerably not merely whether they stay but also other potential customers. If such customers can be invited to visit firms already established in the town and get a good report, this helps greatly in future development.

Architectural Control

The developing authority should lease factories or sites and not part with the freehold. This facilitates architectural control. Every effort should be made to secure and maintain good architectural

standards. Tree planting both on the roads and at the rear of the sites assists in the preservation of amenities. I have not time to develop this important theme, but the local authority should employ a really good architect, not their surveyor or an architectural assistant.

INDUSTRIAL ESTATES IN COUNTRY TOWNS: SITING, LAYOUT, DEVELOPMENT, AND ADMINISTRATION

DISCUSSION

OPENED BY

MR. T. A. L. PATON, B.Sc., M. INST. C.E.

Mr. Paton said: The subject of our meeting this afternoon covers a wide field which has been very ably introduced by Mr. Reiss in his address. I propose to confine my remarks to certain particular aspects of this subject which have arisen during my experience in dealing with the development of industrial estates in England and Wales during the last ten years, particularly in the period immediately preceding the war.

Firstly, with regard to the location of industrial estates and factories, particularly the smaller groups of factories. It may be argued that the vast increase of factories for war production should provide ample space for industry for years to come. Admittedly the location of war-time industries leaves much to be desired in peace-time but it may be questioned whether the country will be able to afford to scrap large and extensive factories when every effort should be devoted to regaining our export trade.

Although industrial development immediately after the war may be slow due to this and also due to the priority which must be given to housing, the eventual basis of development will not be affected and may be more rapid than anyone can anticipate. It will be essential to provide industrial employment for the population of the new housing estates, and I do not think it will be found practical in a large number of cases, for the population to be employed in the surplus war-time factories.

In addition, as Mr. Reiss pointed out in an address he gave to the Scottish Town Planning Association ten days ago, and which I can confirm from my own experience, a much larger area of factory is now required for the same number of workers compared to the

position a few years ago due to improvements in the mechanization of industry.

Moreover, with the development of new and more varied types of manufacture, in particular plastics and light metal alloys and due to the greater importance of planning a factory to suit an industry and not the reverse, which has a considerable bearing on costs of production, a very extensive increase of factory space will be essential.

Factories and Houses

Mr. Paton continued: I think there are two main faults which we have made in the past and which require careful attention in the location of estates.

The first is the tendency, even in modern development, to crowd factories and houses together. A definite break should be provided in the form of a strip of parkland or agricultural land with carefully thought-out planting of quick growing trees and shrubs. An estate sited say half a mile from the perimeter of a town would, to a large extent, prevent noise and odours inseparable from industrial development from causing inconvenience to housing districts.

The second fault is the choice of site for industry.

Many towns still pay little attention to this subject and any odd corner unsuitable for housing such as derelict brickfields or marshland subject to flooding appears to be zoned for industry with little or no consideration for road or rail access. Obviously the best land for housing or agriculture need not be used for this purpose but more consideration should be given by the authorities responsible for the zoning. Industrial development to a greater or lesser degree is vital for every town of reasonable size and with the redistribution of industry which is bound to take place those towns with the most attractive sites and schemes will have a decided advantage over the others. Marshland can be drained and derelict brickfields levelled off but until a scheme has been prepared, or better still, the work commenced, industry will generally give a wide berth to such sites.

Dealing with the layout and development of an industrial estate, however large or small it may be, careful thought and consideration must be given to the general lines of development at the start. But it is important that the scheme should not be too rigid; sufficient flexibility must be retained to suit the varying requirements of industry as the estate expands.

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The lighter industries must be zoned separately from those requiring rail access, and from those where the process is of the dirty type involving trade waste disposal and external excrescences, the bugbear of the architect. In a carefully planned estate there is generally no difficulty in hiding the latter type of factory in some convenient site.

Evil of Overcrowding

As Mr. Reiss pointed out, one of the errors made in the past has been the too close grouping of factories, insufficient space being provided for extensions and particularly amenities. Such close grouping results in a very short while in the estates resembling the worst forms of slum housing, particularly when there is no responsible authority for preserving the amenities. In actual practice I have found that if buildings cover about 20 per cent of the total area the estate can be considered as fully developed.

I think in the future considerably more open space must be provided around each factory and on the estate as a whole.

The close grouping of factories has, of course, the advantage of reducing the cost of development comprising road and rail access, water, gas and electricity services, and drainage. This development before the war varied in cost from about £800 per acre to £2,000, according to the size and location of the estate, the make-up being (a) levelling and clearing, £100 to £500 per acre; (b) roads and services, £700 to £1,200 per acre; (c) Railways, £200 to £400 per acre. This is a considerable outlay before even the first brick of a factory is laid but at the same time the initial cost of the factory is not as important as the production output of the workers. A small increase due to improved amenities would very soon compensate for the higher cost of a more open type of development.

Community and Training Centres

Even on a small estate I think it is of considerable benefit, not only to the workers, but also to the factory owners, that a community centre should be provided in addition to the amenities of a country town. Such a centre should not only include recreational facilities but technical instruction in training operatives, communal canteens, medical services and welfare and certain other centralized services such as transport agencies and banking, restaurant and club for the management and tenants' association.

The Ministry of Labour and National Service might be induced

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to provide a training centre on the larger estate. Those already erected have served a useful function in training labour for specialized work.

Ample central areas should be provided in the initial planning for these items and the buildings constructed, if necessary, in stages or units as the factory development proceeds.

The Necessary Services

Electricity, gas, water and drainage services form a very vital part in the lay-out of an estate and require careful consideration. Sufficient capacity must be provided in the initial stages to avoid expensive duplication or replacement of overloaded services as the development of the estate progresses. But on the other hand care must be taken that the services are not of too lavish a design at the start which may saddle the whole scheme with excessive overheads. It will be clear, I am sure, that the grouping of industries of varying type enables services to be provided at reduced cost to the individual factory. In addition to this, in the case of electricity, an increase in the industrial load of a country town which formerly had supplied electricity largely for domestic purposes only, will considerably improve the load factor. The electrical system comprising power stations, transmission lines, switchgear and cables has to be installed to cover a peak load which in the case of a domestic consumption occurs in the evenings in winter time when radiators, lights and so on are switched on. It will be obvious that industry with a steady demand during the day will enable the capital cost of the supply to be more evenly distributed to the benefit of the town as a whole.

The same position applies in the case of gas where the cooking of the Sunday joint is generally considered to be the peak period of consumption. Industrial gas consumption would again spread the costs more evenly.

While we are on the subject of services, I think the question of smoke nuisance from an industrial estate may be raised. The most economical method of heating a factory is still by means of a hot water or steam raising plant. But such improvements have been made in the firing of boilers with mechanical stokers and special types of fuel that with proper management there is no reason whatsoever for any smoke nuisance to occur. In a small town the smoke from domestic fires which are a most inefficient but comfortable form of heating causes a far greater nuisance than any small factory estate.

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Before we leave this subject consideration should be given to communal heating plants to serve a number of factories which have been used with success on other estates. In addition, the possibility of using waste heat from the town's refuse disposal plant might also be considered. The chief factor in both cases is the cost of distribution and the heat losses which occur in doing so.

Road and rail access need no special comment except in the case of roads where it is very advisable to provide ample width or laybys for vehicles waiting to deliver or load up with goods. A small rail depot adjoining the estate for receiving and distributing goods to the smaller factories may prove of considerable advantage.

Providing for the Small Man

In planning the estate some provision should, I think, be made for the small man with very limited capital who wishes to work up an invention or process into a commercial proposition. This can be achieved by dividing a factory into a small number of units provided with all services and let at an inclusive rental on a short-term lease. This gives considerable encouragement to the small man and in many cases he is able after a short time to move into larger premises when his process proves a success.

In view of the importance to the country, location of industry must be essentially a matter for national control on broad lines. The financial cost of developing industrial estates in the initial stages is considerable, even with fairly rapid development it is doubtful whether interest on borrowed capital can be paid for a period of several years. With the heavy demands on local authorities in other directions, such as housing and repair of blitz damage, some form of subsidy will, I think, be essential.

With regard to the administration of the estates, I agree with Mr. Reiss that first-class management is essential and success depends largely on the energy and enterprise devoted to the scheme. I am doubtful whether it will be advisable or economical for each country town to set up its own administration for this purpose—it would seem that wasteful expenditure of effort would result in attracting industry once government had indicated the regions in which particular factories should be located. In my view some form of grouping would be advisable, similar to the Trading Estates and Development Companies formed by the Commissioner of Special Areas. In these cases the broad lines of policy were laid down by government but the

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executive body was given sufficient freedom of action to enable development to be carried out on commercial lines. The success of these estates has been largely due to the energy and enterprise of the boards of directors drawn from the leading industrialists and public-spirited men of the districts.

But, in any case, the initiation of the schemes for industrial estates should be largely the responsibility of the country towns themselves, and those authorities which show enterprise in formulating and planning first class schemes will have the advantage and pick of industry as soon as the embargo on factory construction is lifted at the end of the war.

MR. C. C. JUDSON (Malvern) asked (1) what is the desirable ratio of industrial population to total population to create a well balanced economic community? (2) What are the types of industry which the small towns desire? (3) What control have we so that we can keep out an undesirable industry? He said the problem which worried local authorities most was number one, as naturally a town with a character did not want to alter the whole of that character, while at the same time it did not want to be backward in inviting industry. As regards number two, every town talked about 'nice clean industries', but what were wanted were industries that would keep labour conditions steady with a fair proportion of juvenile and women's labour and be well balanced throughout the seasons. As to what industries fulfilled those requirements, research work was being done. It would help many towns if they had guidance regarding industrialization. How was it proposed to keep out an industry that a town thought undesirable? In his (Mr. Judson's) town they had quarrying on the famous Malvern Hills and would like something else to take its place.

COUNCILLOR A. E. T. SEARLE (Clevedon, Somerset) said his main interest was in working-class homes. Talking of Welwyn and Letchworth was talking of only one corner of England. We must take the whole country, and when talking about planning we must remember that the cities that had been blitzed must come first. One other point was that on our local authorities there were too many vested interests, small and big, standing in the way of development.

COUNCILLOR A. E. PYE (Beccles Borough) thought that many people talked with pride of the antiquity of their ancient boroughs; you can almost smell the mildew; but they were little concerned

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about modern improvements. In these ancient boroughs are also ancient minds, and in spite of the demand by the general public little was being done.

MR. A. T. S. MCGHIE (Liskeard Borough) on the other hand considered that our ancient boroughs were anxious to bring themselves up to standard but did not know how. He suggested that out of the Conference there might come a simple and practical memorandum telling the country town exactly what to do. The country towns so far spoken of were not representative. They had all the usual amenities and the average country town had not got these. The town he represented had not a sewage disposal. If it was to become the basis of a future industrial town it must have facilities but could not get these unless told how by practical people.

MR. G. S. BAKER (Swadlincote U.D.C.) said the Government ought very soon to make known its decisions regarding the Barlow Report, and particularly the Minority Report which he thought would have been the Majority Report had the Commission sat later. This Minority Report hinted at the positive direction of industry which would cut out the need for publicity that Mr. Reiss had talked about. His second point applied to mining towns. Now that the Government owns the coal they should give a guarantee to an Authority which proposed to develop land, that that land should be free from mining in perpetuity. In his town there were Council houses built at the cost of the ratepayer and taxpayer subsidising at the rate of one foot a month and had been doing so for three months.

MR. C. E. HUGHES (Somerset Rural Community Council) said his Council wanted a Government announcement on the future of war-developed sites. They had a large number of sites developed to a high pitch, and there was a risk that a certain number of country towns might rush in with an effort to attract businesses which could be better housed on war-developed sites. His second point concerned Government offices. Was the country town to continue to house those offices or not? Thirdly, help was wanted from the Government in regard to railways; there were many places where railways should undergo a certain amount of modernization, branch lines and duplicated stations being scrapped and main lines, accommodation sidings and so on being improved. Lastly, until small towns knew where new main and trunk roads were to run it was impossible and undesirable to embark on large-scale development.

MR. REISS in his reply agreed that it was extraordinarily difficult

DISCUSSION

in small country towns to get anything done to improve housing conditions and so on. 'But the fact is that working-class families prefer a house with a garden.' It had been tried out at Welwyn. The experience there was that the percentage of dwellings which should be flats was from 5 to 10 per cent of the total. To educate people to live in flats was wrong. First things, such as slum clearance, sewage disposal works and drainage schemes, must come first. But there were a very large number of towns capable of development and willing to develop. He mentioned Whitehaven, a small town that had suffered from the depression. Between the two wars that town with only twenty thousand inhabitants built two thousand municipal houses. It was canvassing the question of how to get fresh industries. In the average town which had got industry it was calculated that for every industrial worker another was employed in shops, offices, domestic capacity, etc. Equivalent to a quarter of the population was likely to be employed in and around factories. As to keeping out undesirable industries, it might be desirable to locate them between two towns fairly near each other so that they could be kept away from existing development.

SESSION THREE

SOCIAL AMENITIES AND THE ARTS IN COUNTRY TOWNS

CHAIRMAN: DR. JULIAN HUXLEY

Chairman's Opening Remarks

Dr. Huxley said: I was greatly honoured by being asked to take the chair this evening. Although I am a scientist I have always been interested in the arts, I think partly because one finds that the scientific approach although absolutely essential is only one approach, and that even looked at from the angle of knowledge art in the broadest sense provides one with certain aspects of knowledge about certain kinds of experience which can be gained in no other way. That is something we are very much in danger of forgetting in our present civilization. I have been especially interested in the problem since I had the opportunity of going to America a couple of years ago, and found what they had been doing in getting the State to encourage different forms of the arts. I will not say more now but I hope to have a word at the opening of the discussion.

SOCIAL AMENITIES AND THE ARTS IN COUNTRY TOWNS

STATEMENT

BY MISS M. C. GLASGOW

(*Secretary C.E.M.A.*)

First of all, I want to make it clear that I am not presenting this paper on behalf of my Council, C.E.M.A.; but simply because, as Secretary of C.E.M.A., I have had unusual opportunities to watch the progress of the arts up and down the country during the past four years.

The purpose of C.E.M.A. from the beginning has been, of course, this very business of decentralizing the arts: taking them out from London to those people who, on account of war-time conditions, have been cut off from them. We have discovered, first, how great is the demand for the refreshment which the arts can give; and, secondly, how many people and places are normally cut off from that refreshment, quite apart from the stringency of war-time conditions.

On the whole it has been an encouraging experience—that is, from the point of view of the waiting audience. There certainly seems to be no doubt about the readiness of the people in this country to enjoy interesting music, plays, and art exhibitions, if only they are given the chance to have them.

The Problem

What is less encouraging is the prospect for the future of housing the arts in the smaller towns of England. It is one thing to send concerts to air raid shelters, plays to churches and exhibitions to factory canteens and to find in doing so that people want more; and quite another to provide permanent homes for these things in settings worthy of the artist's high profession and in such a way that they become self-supporting centres of enterprise and enjoyment.

There are very few small towns in England where any such thing is true at present. It is a curious fact which has not passed unnoticed in public comment lately that towns of between 5,000 and 30,000

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people have fallen a little between two stools in this matter of cultural supply. The cities are catered for: London and the circuit of industrial centres like Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle, Liverpool, have long had their equipped theatres holding 1,500 and 2,000, their concert halls and their municipal art galleries.

It may be suggested in passing, how odd it is that the visual arts should so far be the only branch to benefit directly, on any accepted scale, from civic enterprise. Often the paintings in question take their place side by side with cases of stuffed birds and casts of Roman emperors; often the buildings which house them are grotesquely unsuitable for their purpose, dark, over-elaborate monuments to Victorian business success rather than to the arts they serve.

At the other end of the scale there has been in this country for some time a prosperous movement to foster village life. For this the work of the Women's Institutes must be very largely responsible, backed up in many cases by the generosity of individuals and of public-spirited bodies like the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The movement has had good material to work on, ready-made centres to start with and a vigorous tradition of community life going back to feudal times. But this does not diminish in value the imaginative energy of the pioneers, nor the very real results that they have achieved.

Then, in the middle is the small town, often without either industrial drive on the one hand or traditional roots on the other, owing its contact with the world of ideas very often to the cinema alone. In saying that, I am not denying the influence of the cinema—on the contrary, I hope to have something to say about the importance of the film in the world of the arts and the necessity of restoring it to its proper place. The trouble meanwhile is that the cinema is rarely a local institution; it is part of a commercial monopoly (and an international one at that), over-specialized, over-centralized, and in almost every case, outside the scope of local interest and activity and beyond local control. Neither those who run it nor the material it offers have any real part in the life of its audience.

During this war many actors and musicians have discovered new audiences and new opportunities; but they have also discovered the difficulties—of fitting an orchestra, even of twelve players, on to a school hall platform; of combining enough 'one night stands' in a district to make a week's visit worth while; of filling a hall of four hundred seats and 'making it pay'; of choosing the play that shall

be worth doing and yet acceptable from a reasonable box-office point of view.

The problem is a dual one. It concerns *buildings* and it concerns *people*. In talking about it, I want to make it clear that this can be nothing but an introduction. The complications of the subject are unending and the technical sides of it are many and highly specialized. At the very beginning there is the legal question concerning the powers of Local Authorities to provide the very things we are discussing. That, mercifully, I am able to leave altogether on one side. It has been the object of special study by a committee appointed for the purpose and you will in due course hear and have an opportunity of discussing the committee's findings. I do want you to realize, however, that a decision about the powers of Local Authorities must lie at the centre of any future action which is taken.

Neither am I going to discuss with you now exact sizes of buildings, the nature of materials, or, on the human side, the right kind of programme for the different types of audience. Each of these things deserves a conference to itself.

Finally, I am not suggesting for your notice the merits of particular groups of societies for the purpose of organizing this decentralization of the arts. Some kind of organization I imagine there must be. Who should undertake it and with what degree of control is, I submit, outside the scope of these discussions.

There is one main point which I should like to underline. Whatever is done to make the arts available to the new audiences who want them, there must be no question of providing what 'good people think good for people'. Any suggestion of *welfare* is death to the subject before us. Instead, I commend to you this sentence of Lewis Mumford:

'We must plan at the same time for all the communal institutions and functions which enable people to do in larger groups what they cannot perform as families; these communal functions cannot be conceived as afterthoughts. More and more in our time collective wealth takes the place of individual wealth; the library, the art gallery, the school, brings to the poorest family resources which even the wealthy can hardly afford.' (Page 37, *Social Foundations*.)

Buildings

First, then, for the bricks and mortar.

Let me begin by drawing attention to my warning about 'welfare'. Words can be dangerous and we need to be equally careful about

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the 'educational' aspect of all this. There have been many opportunities recently of holding performances of music and plays in school buildings and it is often advocated that this is the right line of approach for the future. Our theatres and art galleries might be attached to the new schools to be built on the gracious outskirts of our towns. On the other hand, it has been said that there is a disadvantage in giving an 'educational' flavour to the arts. This seems to me tragic—from the point of view of education. Has the word really got such a sinister meaning in this country? Should we not rather approach this matter from the opposite side and insist that the arts should be a normal part of our education and that the word itself should take on in everyday conversation its full meaning as a broadening and uplifting of the human mind and the human spirit, not only in childhood but throughout life?

Meanwhile, I do not myself propose that the schools should actually become the art centres of the future. We must plan our buildings on a 'paying' basis. This is said in no commercial sense but in the belief that art is as sound a proposition in this world as any other proposition. The old truism that people like what they pay for and are prepared to pay for what they like is a truth and not a cynical saying. Moreover, artists are people of flesh and blood, and art in this country will be on a more healthy basis once it is realized that it is a profession like any other and one involving long training and hard discipline.

That being so, it will be necessary to decide first of all in each town the exact nature and extent of the provision required. A town of 30,000 people, for instance (I am using figures arbitrarily and should not like to be quoted on them), might be able to support a theatre (seating 700 or 800), a concert hall, a library and an exhibition gallery. It would also have more than one cinema.

In a town of 20,000 the theatre would probably have to act as concert hall and even public meeting place as well; certainly it would have to be equipped for the showing of films on occasions and should be properly wired for microphones as well as for sound films. It might have a gallery annexe.

In places of 10,000 and under the problem becomes a rather different one, and the aim might be that of a community centre. The building would not be so much one hall more or less elaborately equipped for a few chosen purposes, as a group of smallish rooms designed to be a centre of activities for the population. It might have

a library, an art room, a little theatre with a stage, a music room—and a *garden*. Any small theatre or hall in such a centre would have to be equipped with *wall plugs* for the showing of 16 mm. films. The work done by the Ministry of Information for the serious use of films will certainly not be allowed to die, and our new buildings must help to consolidate it. They will be the natural centres for film societies, too, many of which were coming into existence before the war and should revive with new impetus afterwards.

The point—and the advantage—here is that the centre would be the natural place for the practice as well as for the passive enjoyment of the arts. Possibly it is easier to practise them in a place accepted for general community use than in special rooms set aside for 'amateurs' in schools and colleges.

This joining up of amateur and professional, doing and enjoying, is surely an essential part of the conception to which we are working. Queer gulfs are fixed in our traditional way of life between the two and they vary oddly from one art to another. I doubt whether anyone can say where the dividing line comes between amateur and professional in music; half our orchestras contain examples of both. All our choral and orchestral concerts are a mixture. It is the accepted thing for an amateur music society to join forces with professional soloists when it gives its concerts. In the theatre world, however, the gulf is deep and rarely bridged. This is by the way. The point I want to make is that if the arts in this country are to have a vigorous future, the gulf must be bridged. We do not want to turn amateurs into professionals, or to treat professionals as amateurs; but we do want each world to draw from the other the strength and the encouragement it needs. The buildings of the future will be able to give important help here; theatres and art studios in particular must be available for use by both groups.

Meanwhile, it may, as I say, be easier to provide the link between amateur and professional in the smaller community than in the greater. Another reason for the greater ease of progress in small places will be the absence of outside commercial competition. Perhaps it is this fact which has helped the village movement to which I referred earlier. It is a rather thorny point and one to which I must return later, but on the simplest grounds it is obvious that a small town or village which is without even a cinema will be able more easily to take the first step than one in which existing interests, however laudable, are already entrenched.

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Behind this bare outline is a consciousness in my mind, born of some experience, of the need to educate our civic leaders about the nature and cost of artistic activities. In decentralizing the arts we do not want to aim at sending everything everywhere. During the last few years thousands of requests have come in to the C.E.M.A. office for plays, music and art exhibitions. An astonishing number of them have borne no relation to the possibilities of supply. One town will say: 'Will you please send us the London Philharmonic Orchestra to play in our local schoolroom? We are prepared to pay for it and have £40 available.' Another will ask for the Sadler's Wells Opera 'in a week's time'. Another again will expect the Tate Gallery War-time Acquisitions, but will omit to mention the size of the hall available and make no reference to unpacking, hanging or invigilating.

It is very important for the future to gauge the suitability of different activities to different places. We must start by realizing that it would be ridiculous to send the Sadler's Wells Opera to a theatre with a stage measuring less than 36 feet deep by 30 feet in its proscenium opening; the London Philharmonic Orchestra to a hall seating six hundred, or a string orchestra to one of less than four hundred. It would be unjust to artist and to spectators to hang any painting in an ill-lit or ill-decorated room. All these things would be as false as to try showing a sound film in a hall not adequately wired for it.

Basic Requirements

Certain elementary things are generally accepted. Pictures imply light. Films imply electric power. Plays imply stages. These equations are a part of general knowledge, but how much more there is behind them!

Pictures, for instance, need not only light but a background of suitable colour and texture. They have to be hung. They almost always need movable screens as well. Artificial light as well as good daylight should be provided, and if possible, wiring for special photographic exhibitions. A lock-up storeroom is needed and a room for packing and repairing. Transport is needed and qualified people to unload and unpack.

Plays again need accommodation for artists: not just rooms, but rooms equipped with mirrors, wash-basins, lights and hanging space. A wardrobe room. A stage with a minimum of standard lighting equipment and a curtain, some storage space for properties. A door

large enough and suitably placed to get scenery from the truck to the stage. A box office.

Ballet needs more space than most plays, particularly in the wings, and for the stage, a special surface for bare feet. And here it must be remembered that, if an apron is added to a stage, the space it takes up decreases the auditorium space available. This is a calculation which is often left out of estimates when a budget is drawn up for the visit of a large company.

Films need classifying: while the commercial 35 mm. apparatus must work from a heavy current, the 16 mm. film can be attached to an ordinary 5 amp. wall plug.

There is the question of orchestral accommodation. Members of an orchestra need artists' rooms like members of a theatre company. Often they need to change their dress, even if their properties and costumes are neither so many nor so varied. Orchestras also need space and lighting, to say nothing of music stands. As for the question of *pianos*, that is one which has become so painful to my Council's music staff during the last few years that I find difficulty in referring to it without emotion.

These are random points which could, of course, be multiplied almost endlessly. I quote them arbitrarily as an indication of the many tiresome routine matters which anyone undertaking the organization of the arts must be aware of if success is to attend his efforts. It is not for me to enlarge upon them. The moral of what I am saying is: 'Don't forget to consult the expert. *And he is not necessarily the architect.*'

While in the 'decentralized' land of the future many authorities will be building their new centres—often on bombed sites, or at any rate as part of their reconstruction schemes—others will be adapting existing buildings. In many places a tradition is already growing up round some particular building which has come to be known as a war-time home for the arts; and if a building like this is not always perfectly equipped, it often makes up for that in quality of background.

In any case it is, I believe, a merciful condition of all—or nearly all—building that sites are never—or hardly ever—unlimited. Each has its peculiar shape and surroundings which must from the very beginning supply an element of character to whatever occupies it.

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The Human Beings

Obviously it is going to be useless to build and equip centres for the arts if they are not attended. Distribution is as important as bricks and mortar if this idea is to come alive.

It is in this field that it is essential to carry the professional and commercial world of the Arts with us. There must be no question of *competition* about this—and *there need not be*. By a proper and carefully thought-out distribution of the right things everyone benefits. If, to put it crudely, those people of a small town have a chance to enjoy chamber music and a serious play, how much more ready will they be to travel to the nearest city to hear symphonic concerts and the opera? The thing spreads. . . .

At this time C.E.M.A. is concerned in sending out theatre companies to tour the industrial hostels: those buildings which have been put up in the more remote parts of the country by the Ministry of Supply and the Ministry of Labour to serve the many thousands of workers conscripted for the Royal Ordnance and other factories. This is a war-time job and one of the functions for which C.E.M.A. was established. But is it too fanciful to imagine that, when the war is over and these factories close down, the workers from them, released to their peace-time occupations, will stream over the country like the medieval scholars after the sack of Constantinople, carrying with them their new-won knowledge and their new-won standards and demanding from their home towns the plays and the music and the art exhibitions, the ballet and the films, on which they have grown to rely? If this picture is too romantic, you must forgive me. The subject is one on which the imagination feeds. . . .

To come back to hard facts: we must here consider again the question of suitability and the importance of sending the right things to the right places. We ought not to expect our larger theatre companies and orchestras to go to places and buildings where in the nature of things they are bound to play at a loss. Neither ought we to expect them to compete with one another or with existing established enterprise in such a way that all lose, and local audiences have to choose between two good things because there is not room or time for them to have both.

Rather should we aim at the kind of planning which will allow for a calculated sequence of events, each suitably removed in time from the next in order to give everyone a chance; and also a calculated touring system by which each centre will be served by com-

panies of the right size and kind and to which the smaller places in the surrounding district will be brought by transport organized for the purpose.

With buildings, transport is the part of the organization which we now mainly lack, and it is the agreed purpose of my Council to make up for its absence by taking the arts to people in their own homes, however uneconomic the conditions. In a perfect world this would not be necessary.

The Critical Standard

What must be kept throughout is a high professional standard. To this end, actors must go where they can make money. They do not live on air—a fact which many organizers of charity matinées, particularly in war-time, do not yet seem to appreciate. But they need not and do not want to go necessarily where they can make the *most* money. They want full houses; appreciative audiences; and an *enlightened press*.

It is astonishing how rare in the smaller towns is the presence of an intelligent critic for any one of the Arts. The local press is rightly an essential part of the life of any town. It is a healthy sign how much any community relies on its local newspaper, but it is a less healthy sign how little thought the editors of those papers give to the more specialized sides of the advice they give their readers. There is virtually no serious local criticism of films. The more local editors can be encouraged to study this question—to pay attention to national film and theatre reviews, for instance, instead of printing the 'blurbs' handed out to them by the distributors, and to bring in expert opinion when necessary, the more valuable will be the contribution which the arts can make to the life of the smaller towns.

Artists, too, depend on the press—not only for the effect press comment has on the size of audiences, but also because of the unbiased judgment they can get from it. It is for them a barometer of public opinion. How tragic then, and how wasteful, if, as we have reason to suppose, the barometer gives a much lower measure of public opinion than is actually the truth.

It might be possible—and I believe it has sometimes been done—to organize intelligent comment on the visits of musicians, players, and travelling exhibitions. One of the most useful things which can happen at present is the incidence of press correspondence on a particular event. Violent attacks and defences are always stimulating

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and they make good advertisement. At the same time it is surely beneath the dignity of all concerned to rely on this kind of fortuitous advertisement in place of the informed comment on which artists and audiences should always be able to count.

Getting the Audiences

This leads to the very interesting question of the mobilization of audiences. Everyone will agree that in this world of Planning, Civic Enterprise, and Government Grants, it is still the individual enthusiast who counts, and everyone will rejoice that this is so. The human element counts; and particularly when it comes to the much mis-used word 'organization'. It is no use having committees, sub-committees or schemes if the human beings are not there to vitalize them. Nevertheless—and this is the ultimate moral of my paper—some kind of machinery is undoubtedly wanted.

There are at the present time springing up all over the country committees for the local organization of the arts. Their function in practical terms is to advertise, sell tickets, find billets for visiting artists and generally be responsible for their reception. Their value to orchestras and theatre companies, often under present conditions under-staffed and hard pressed for time, is incalculable.

Would it not be possible in the future to mobilize these 'ad hoc' committees and to give them a function beyond the immediate war-time need which has called them into being? Could not a channel be established between them and the normal source of supply so that they might use these sources to the best advantage and co-operate with managers and artists for their success? They might be the people to ensure enlightened press criticism and they would certainly be the people to make known the demands of the towns where they lived.

Such a system of local 'Three Arts Committees' implies on the other side a body of business managers with vision. That these exist there can be no doubt. At the same time, it is odd how many people in this country—those, that is to say, who do not regard the artist as an insubstantial being needing neither food, drink nor income—regard him as a materially-minded shark and are in consequence terrified of him. Both points of view lead to the same result: the artist and his manager are regarded as living in another world, speaking a different language and quite unable to co-operate with ordinary folk except through some specially appointed intermediary.

If this situation has ever been true, it certainly is not true now. If

only as a result of the war, artists have had to perform and to show their wares in so many strange experimental buildings lately that they are really beginning to be accepted as a part of everyday life. For that reason alone the use of experimental buildings, even air raid shelters and even bandstands in public parks, has had its point.

As for the view taken of all this by the artist himself, that is also something to be reckoned with. In our plans for the future and in our concern for educating audiences, we must not forget their influence on the artist. As long as an actor feels that his work is appreciated, that he is contributing something to the life of the community and receiving in return a good part and a living wage, he will enjoy himself and give himself generously to the community. He needs our understanding just as much as we need his co-operation.

Example: Imaginary

I shall end by attempting to describe to you two centres to illustrate the points I have tried to make. One is real and one is imaginary.

I shall begin with the imaginary one because being at present only a vision in my mind, I may not succeed so well in picturing it to you.

I have in mind a market town of about 10,000 people. The Town Council has decided to set up a war memorial. They have in the course of their reconstruction pulled down a group of congested dwelling houses not far from the shopping centre, and replaced them with more spacious houses farther out. The site thus left is of an odd shape, bounded on one side by commercial buildings; on the other by a busy street and having at its back an uneven area of waste land. This the Town Council decide shall be the community centre.

The largest space in the structure is designed as a theatre. It has a small gallery at the back and holds altogether six hundred people. The stage is 20 feet deep, 28 feet wide, with a proscenium opening 20 feet wide by 20 feet high. There must be a further 20 feet above, in height, in order to 'fly' scenery. The stage will take a small theatre set such as might be seen, for instance, at St. Martin's Theatre, London. It can also take a small ballet company of not more than fifteen dancers capable of giving a wide programme of works old and new, including simplified versions of classical ballets such as 'Les Sylphides'.

There is a small orchestra pit, where, if not a full band, at least two pianos and a string quartet can be accommodated.

The ordinary stage will accommodate a string orchestra of eighteen

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players, or with the apron and a tight squeeze a chamber orchestra of thirty-six capable of playing symphonic works by Mozart, Handel, and some Beethoven.

A gramophone amplifier will also be installed. Lighting will be the best possible and the theatre will, of course, be fully equipped for the showing of every kind of film.

(We assume that there are in this town already more than one cinema belonging to the ordinary commercial circuits but unaccustomed to showing films of interest outside the ordinary standardized programmes. There are no other theatres or halls except such as are attached to schools and churches.)

Behind the stage are artists' rooms, four single and two for the use of perhaps twelve people each at a time. There must also be a wardrobe and storeroom; and there must be easy access to it, and to the stage, from the street. These open into an adjoining small hall seating perhaps two hundred people which can be used both as a practice room and for small concerts of chamber music and so on. It contains at least one first-class piano, preferably two—a grand piano and an easily movable upright. It can also be made available for meetings and discussions.

Above the smaller hall is an exhibition room, lit by windows on two sides and with a top light. It is supplied with movable screens and movable desk cases. It is also fitted with a cinema screen, projector, and indeed a whole battery of instruments, epidiascope, micro-projector, etc., for the showing of films and other visual material, either alone or as accompaniments to lectures.

Corresponding with the artists' rooms below are store rooms, studios for practice work, and the library.

At the back, taking advantage of the uneven ground, is a garden serving both the enjoyment of visitors and the experimental work of those who are interested.

The entrance from the street opens into a reasonably large foyer where space is available to advertise what is going on inside, including single examples of visiting art exhibitions. There is also room for an adequate box office. Either above it or adjoining it is space for a refreshment room and kitchen. Certainly a small restaurant. (The importance of good food as an adjunct to the arts cannot be overstressed. . . .)

I feel that a picture of that kind is of little use except as a cloud castle; unless you can relate it to an actual situation, it means little

and has no character. Nevertheless, it may serve to gather under one heading some of the needs which we have been discussing as necessary to the life of the small town. It should not stop there, or be tied by what are, after all, conventional requirements. The more the buildings of the future grow out of the living needs of the people, quite apart from standardized requirements, the better it will be for them and for those they serve.

Example: Actual

I pass on to a concrete example of an 'art centre' which has grown up out of need in war-time and which I think shows every prospect of remaining as an accepted part of town life. It is in a small cathedral town in the north of England and its setting is the cathedral refectory. The structure itself is an ancient one with full traditional dignity but well lit from high windows. The hall space seats six hundred people, and the stage, an ordinary square one, little different from a platform, is 14 feet deep by 20 feet wide. The curtains and lighting are of the most simple kind but adequate for ordinary purposes. Both can, of course, be elaborated for special occasions. Plays of reasonable size can be given here, including some Shakespeare productions, but not ballet. A string or chamber orchestra can be comfortably accommodated. The acoustics are excellent.

Films can be shown on occasion, but technical improvements, both in the quality of projectors and the conditions of the hall, are needed before completely satisfactory sound performances can be given.

For the showing of exhibitions the hall is perfect. Both on hessian frames set up against the stone walls and on screens which can be moved about the floor space at will, pictures and photographs look their best. There is a small ante-room where catalogues and tickets are sold and advertising material displayed. Also a number of adjoining rooms belonging to the cathedral where artists can rest and materials can be stored.

To complete the beauty of the setting, the refectory opens out on one side on to the cathedral cloisters with a garden, fountain and seats laid out for the refreshment of visitors.

In this picture there is much to be desired. The equipment is not of the most modern, nor are the seats of the most comfortable kind. Lighting effects on the stage are restricted and the stage itself is of unusual proportions. At the same time, this centre has been a centre for centuries, if not for the arts at least for the life of the inhabitants

SOCIAL AMENITIES AND ARTS IN COUNTRY TOWNS living near. It has recaptured during the last three years some of its medieval vitality, and for the time at least both audiences and artists feel its traditional quality of welcome, and are prepared in consequence to put up with its shortcomings.

With these contrasting ideas, of the traditional and the ideal, I close this paper. Whatever is done in the future should, I believe, look to both conceptions for guidance. Sometimes one will be possible, sometimes the other; in very rare cases they may be combined. Neither will be of any use at all unless the human beings play their part and unless we remember that by human beings we mean always and equally *artists and audiences*.

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Chairman's Comments

BY DR. JULIAN HUXLEY

We are here to talk about the arts in small towns, but do not let us forget—and I do not think we are in any danger of doing so—that the small towns, although they are in special need of equipment and so on for the arts, are but part of a general problem. The general problem is that for the last century or so the country as a whole has simply been without adequate provision for the part which the arts can play in life. Central London is an exception, but I disagree with Miss Glasgow when she says that London and Glasgow are exceptions because even the larger towns on the fringe of London are inadequately provided. They have the nuclei but that is not sufficient.

We are in a new phase of history in which people are beginning to think in terms of what are the human needs we want to satisfy, and not simply prestige or profit. One of the needs we want to satisfy is the need of the human being for the arts in one or the other manifestation, and it seems to me the stage of society we are entering upon is one in which the State will have to play a very considerable part. The stage of private enterprise is largely over and the State must come in. Not only the State but the municipalities will have very large parts to play. On the other hand, as Miss Glasgow has emphasized, we must not rely on the official side only; the State and municipality can only do their job properly if they can rely to the greatest possible extent on voluntary effort and initiative on enterprise away from the centre.

Miss Glasgow gave a picture saying she was a little discouraged over the future when she thinks of the very large areas which need that effort to be made; but I am not sure we need be so discouraged if we really face the problem.

Organizations now Ready

We already have a number of organizations in the field which

SOCIAL AMENITIES AND ARTS IN COUNTRY TOWNS could serve as the nuclei for any service of the arts for the people. There are already the municipalities, although they really need to think of their functions in relation to the arts in a slightly new way. But leaving that on one side we have various State bodies already in existence. We have for example the Victoria and Albert Museum with its remarkable department which circulates exhibitions of pictures and so on to schools, museums, and art galleries. That might readily be adapted to be the physical agent of all circulating exhibitions because it is clear that circulating exhibitions of the visual arts are to be one of the great means of getting art to the public. We cannot expect people always to travel to the square mile around Bond Street to see for themselves.

We have C.E.M.A., and I see no reason whatever why when the war is over C.E.M.A. should not be the nucleus for something on a larger scale—for the super C.E.M.A. which one might call the Arts Council or something. It will still deal with the same activities as C.E.M.A., and I hope certain aspects of the cinema also—not commercial but the same specialized type of interest films already referred to. It would have to be enlarged and have a bigger staff. The sections would need to be much decentralized into regions and localities and so forth, but that is a matter of detail or organization.

We already have very valuable and encouraging experience, especially for small towns. C.E.M.A. has encouraged the touring by small dramatic companies in the smaller towns. It is through the exigencies of the war that bands are forced to make a point with the trio and quartet, but the really good trio and quartet can provide really good music for the smaller town. For the slightly larger town the small string orchestra is suitable, and this again C.E.M.A. has encouraged.

Advice and Finance

Then C.E.M.A. is beginning to build up the basis for what will be in the future a central organization capable of giving advice on all matters connected with the arts and conducting and initiating research and survey. We must not forget that. It is important. There will be need of a good deal of money but those who have thought about this problem regard the amount of money which will be necessary as by no means high in view of the urgency of the priority of giving the people of this country some basis in the arts for a national culture.

Money will be needed for transport. That is a point Miss Glasgow

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has made: the need for cheap subsidized transport for people in the outlying districts will go on. It will be needed for new buildings, exhibitions, films and art centres. It will be needed for the provision of good reproductions for the public and schools, although they will pay largely for themselves. We must not forget the artists: money will be needed to help the artist live his own life.

There are various ways in which it will be needed for bridging the gap from the art school before the student can take his place as an established artist, earning his own living. One way will be through scholarships and another way, reverting to what the State has already done in commissioning artists to go and record activities of national interest, war artists, recording Britain and so forth, can continue equally well in peace-time.

I personally feel rather strongly that this country ought to follow the lead of others like the United States of America and Sweden in insisting that all public buildings and, if we went the whole way with Sweden, all non-private dwelling houses, including factories costing more than a certain amount of money, should be obliged to set aside something towards providing decoration. The decoration might be mural, painting, sculpture, etc. In the United States the amount set aside for this is 1 per cent of the total cost.

The Cinema

I regard the cinema as important. I see no reason against and a great many reasons for encouraging through State grants the specialized cinema. You have film societies springing up on every hand. They provide the private initiative but there is no reason against a municipality itself supporting a cinema repertory theatre for showing films which the public would not otherwise have a chance of seeing, and there is no reason why the State should not support such ventures as it thought fit.

Then we need money, or at any rate, new training, for the provision of more and better art in the ordinary sense in this country. We are beginning to realize that art is not just a frill in general education but a method of education in itself. It provides a certain type of knowledge which cannot be got in any other way, and it provides a certain form of expression, and therefore of national growth, which cannot be provided in any other way. Not only our schools but our universities have lagged behind those of other countries in the attention they give to the arts.

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There are one or two small points in my mind that I should like to elucidate after the discussion. Miss Glasgow said that buildings devoted to the arts should be at least a paying proposition: I can see that is quite possibly desirable in some cases, but I am not sure in other cases. Does the urban municipality regard its parks or municipal band as a paying proposition? Is it possible to make sculpture or other visual arts such as painting into paying propositions on travelling exhibitions?

I was very much interested in what she said about these Three Arts Committees springing up everywhere. These can provide the voluntary support which the arts need if they are to be properly decentralized and form a part of the life of the country. I personally would desire that they should deal with the fourth art, that of the cinema. It is for them to see what the community wants in the way of art, and it is for them to be called in to help the official committee of the municipality which has to deal with such matters.

Our Goal a National Culture

I would conclude by asking us all to remind ourselves that this problem is only part of a more general one. We are living in a most extraordinary transformation, one of the most rapid that there has ever been in history, in which we are beginning to lay primary emphasis on social motives instead of on purely economic ones, and we are beginning to think in terms of how we can fashion general social consciousness. That implies a general culture, a national culture.

I think it is J. B. Priestley who says that we in Britain are a predominantly urban civilization but without any urban culture. That may be too sweeping, but it contains a general truth, and I want to say that we may have a national culture in which people feel that they are playing their part, and where they feel they can look to contemporary writing, painting and music and so on to help them understand where they are in the universe, where the nation is heading and where the thoughts of mankind are going. The arts are essential in such a programme, and that is why I was interested in hearing Miss Glasgow with her emphasis on the part the press can play and local discussion groups. These can play a vital part in establishing educational culture.

SOCIAL AMENITIES AND THE ARTS IN COUNTRY TOWNS

DISCUSSION

OPENED BY MR. BASIL C. LANGTON

(Director of the Travelling Repertory Theatre)

We are concerned to-day with the cold fact that only one in fifty towns in England has a proper theatre, and that over three-quarters of the population in this country have never seen a play. If these barbarous conditions are to be improved it is certain that among other things the theatre, as with all the arts, must be decentralized from the West End of London, where as a profession it is principally practised.

This cannot be done unless towns build suitable buildings for the practice and enjoyment of the arts.

However no town can or should attempt to build a theatre without proper advice and consultation with professional men of the theatre. Too often in recent years the theatre has been every man's toy and too rarely his art. I would then first suggest that some central organization such as C.E.M.A. should set up a special department whose sole function would be to advise towns wishing to build theatres and community centres as to the technical requirements of these buildings in order to make them as practical and useful as possible. Although there are examples where local authorities have shown wisdom in the choice of their architects, too often they have not. It is folly to leave this to chance, as the building of a theatre requires as much expert advice as does the planning of a water supply or the installation of electricity.

Having accepted that we cannot practise or enjoy the art of theatre in our provincial towns and villages unless we build proper theatres, I would next ask this conference to reaffirm clearly what our attitude to the arts is and what part they and the artist should play in community life.

Is there not a danger in all general planning that it becomes an impersonal monster—even if we succeed in building a streamlined beehive it is no guarantee that bees will inhabit it.

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Therefore even before a building programme, we should consider a more fundamental question—what is the exact function of art and the artist in community life? We do not attempt to construct a railway or a factory without knowing first what it is to do. What then is art and what is its function?

Art is nothing more or less than *man's means of expression*. However general or sweeping this definition may seem, I am quite convinced that unless we re-establish this point of view, art's place in community life will be negligible.

Through civilization 'the arts' have become segregated and have become a specialized luxury trade—to be enjoyed by the privileged few. So art is spelt with a capital 'A' and has become associated with such soul destroying words as 'culture', 'uplift', and 'educational'. As long as we think of art as merely caviare to be spread more evenly over the general public, we will fail miserably in our task of decentralizing the theatre and its allied arts from the grip of the metropolis.

By a building programme we may succeed in bringing more 'star' attractions to the provincial country towns, but if this is the extent of our development it will be singularly unimportant.

Let us now consider the problem of the artist and the place he is to hold in the life of the community. For too long we have thought of him as the misfit, either ignored or else spoilt by the general public. Is he not after all a human being of certain sensibility who has as natural a place in community life as the butcher or the baker? We must surely recognize that his place is as important as the doctor's or the postman's and that his work is an essential element in the life of a town. Not a luxury, a need. Indeed, a utility.

Having established the needs of the public, should we not, if we are to put a programme of planning into practice, also establish the needs of the artist himself? Without the artist's good will our scheme will be unworkable: without the bees our beehive will be derelict.

As an example of this side of the problem let us set forth what the actor needs to make him a contented citizen. At a guess I would list five of his principal needs, in order of importance:

1. A good part to act.
2. Financial security. (In normal times it is considered that the average actor works only three months in the year.)
3. Publicity.
4. Good conditions of work.

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5. The need to satisfy the roving spirit.

Any theatre programme which does not satisfy these needs will not be successfully carried out.

Let me follow this with an example of a practical theatre scheme which could operate successfully for the artist and for the community:

Let us assume that we build in each of ten towns a theatre centre of an approved design. Each theatre centre would be affiliated to and managed by a central organization whose function would be entirely administrative (C.E.M.A.?). Each theatre would have its own artistic director (Gielgud Theatre? Guthrie Theatre? etc.). To each theatre would be attached a training centre, and it is assumed that in time each theatre would develop its own particular method and style. Attached to each centre there would also be a travelling theatre unit, which with modern transport facilities properly designed for the purpose, could make regular visits to the smaller towns in any part of the district.

The artist would be engaged by the central organization on a yearly contract—a guarantee of financial security as well as a guarantee of his qualification as an artist of merit. The actor would then be free to apply for a position in any of the ten theatres where there might be a vacancy, with an option to transfer after a certain length of time to another theatre if he wished.

All revenue from the ten theatres would be administered by the central organization.

A system of touring would make it possible for these theatres occasionally to exchange companies—to make this touring workable it must be emphasized that all the stages should be of some standard measurement.

This suggested theatre scheme is not complete in every detail and is only offered as a basis of discussion, but it is certain that unless National Planning in Country Towns is done in relation to some such scheme as I have outlined, we can only hope to have endless confusion and muddle between local rival organizations, none of whom would be working towards a common national policy. If this policy ignores the needs of the artist, he will not be able to participate wholly in the life of the community. Without a common policy it will be hit-or-miss, a sheer chance whether any town will succeed in its development.

The few important achievements in the British theatre have resulted from the adventures of a few wealthy men who have been

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willing to lavish their private incomes to the glory of the theatre. Such a case is the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. These enthusiasts and lovers of the theatre we hope will always exist, but is it not time that we took the main burden and responsibility for the health of the British theatre from their shoulders?

It might be argued that theatre planning such as we are suggesting would jeopardize the present commercial interests, but if three-quarters of the present British population have never seen a play, there is surely room for considerable development without private enterprise suffering any serious competition. It is certain that such a scheme would in every way encourage and feed the strong amateur movement which at present is one of the most vital elements in the British theatre. Through the amateur movements each member of society has an opportunity to participate in the arts, and it is participation that will make our blue prints come to life. Yet it is not the amateur movement which is in such urgent need of planning. Regardless of conditions, the amateur will always find ways and means of expressing himself.

Art and education are recognized to-day as having a close affinity; but to be clear let us say art is not only educational but also recreational. There are those who would clearly define education and recreation, and who would say we need a Board of Recreation as well as a Board of Education. They would say we need to study more our *recreational* needs, and I am inclined to agree. For example, the art of movement is ignored in this country, and yet there is nothing whether in work or play which is not dependent upon movement. I have heard many managers of factory hostels complain bitterly that their girls are 'dance mad', and their general opinion is that such a craving for movement is undesirable. Yet is it not clear evidence of the average man's need of movement as a recreation? Except for a few 'balletomanes' who have made of it an esoteric rite, it would seem that the art of movement as one of man's means of expression is virtually unexplored.

In conclusion, may I repeat my conviction that all the planning under the sun will be so much waste of time and paper unless we are clear what we are planning for, and in this instance, what place art and the artists are to take in community life.

As the majority of my arguments have been in relation to the theatre, I must make it clear that by theatre I do not merely mean a place to perform a play. All the arts—dance, painting, music and

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sculpture, brought under one government, is theatre. The theatre, both as a building and as an organization, could be a vital centre of community life.

SIR ERIC McLAGLAN (Museums Association) continued the discussion. He said: Miss Glasgow has pointed out that municipalities seemed to feel that their duties were at an end when they had provided a museum; it never occurred to them to provide for other kinds of artistic display and expression. That is true, but I think it might be born in mind in making plans for the future that if you have a place like a museum it may in some cases be useful to make of it part of your larger organization for the future. For one thing it is more economic to have your building and municipal activities centred so far as possible in one place. Another thing, in a great many cases the local museum curator would be able to help in the organization of the wider activities which he would be glad to link on to his own work.

I feel there is rather a danger when making plans of ignoring existing institutions. Often it would pay better to enlarge, expand and make use of existing services rather than set up new organizations which are bound to be experimental and sometimes land a town in building and practically obligatory expenses for which there is not in the end a complete justification.

Wherever there is a museum already in existence, there might be a possibility to use it and its almost always exceedingly inadequate staff, as a nucleus for expansion.

The circulation department of the Victoria and Albert Museum is capable of wider development and might become the main agency for circulating examples of the visual arts to the country. There again you have machinery which could be amplified and expanded, and the use of that would be more practicable than setting up a new organization for the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was a question at what point in the growing size of the town you should specialize so that you could keep your museum separate from your art gallery. In the smaller towns it would be desirable to combine.

MR. GEOFFREY WHITWORTH: I think we want our community centres, whether in the small towns or big cities, to be concerned so far as is possible with their own creative efforts. We must be very careful not to rely entirely on the diffusion of art or theatre through the cinema. I prefer to think of the work of a central organization

SOCIAL AMENITIES AND ARTS IN COUNTRY TOWNS as the organ of diffusion, and decentralization I would say means that we are trying to promote the creative activity of the centre itself.

I should rather deplore the idea of a central organization which would supply artists in rotation to different sub-centres. The most important dramatic activities which I have been aware of out of London are those in cities like Manchester and Birmingham, and each of those was derived from a theatre which was local, managed locally, and on the basis of a resident company which invoked the enthusiasm and support of those cities. Let us not forget that the theatre should rely as far as it can on the emergence of local genius.

I do not think Miss Glasgow's visions were at all unpractical or outside reality. We want such theatres to be centres as she mentioned, and it is for the Town Planning Association to back with all its might the creation of those centres, which are not so visionary as Miss Glasgow led us to suppose.

MR. E. A. MAJOR (National Council of Social Service) said that one way in which the Board of Education might help, if we were going to produce drama in our schools, was in seeing that the stages were well designed and that adequate ancillary provision was made. He gave particulars of a new senior school erected by a local authority where a stage was provided but which was far too small, and where there was but little accommodation even for juvenile players.

A DELEGATE spoke on finance. He said he did not know how much his area could do to carry out Miss Glasgow's vision. They were faced with a very big problem on rehousing and reconstruction work. It was a question of priority, and much as they would like to see a Civic theatre in their town he did not see how they could do it. He did not think there would be any difficulty in finding a certain amount of money: they would levy their rates to the best of their ability, they would look for private people for voluntary subscriptions but there was a case for generous State aid—or financial assistance to the extent of 50, 60 or even 75 per cent. He hoped something would be done on similar lines to what had been done for the National Fitness Council. The National Council of Social Service had been for many years financially providing village halls and advising community centres. They had had a conference three weeks ago and out of that had come a great resurgence in the idea of the community centre not only providing facilities for art, music and the drama, but also rooms where perhaps scenery and costumes could be made.

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MR. DANIELS (Stroud) said that amateur dramatic societies were extremely important in country districts. When so many of the small theatres in the countryside had gone over to the cinema he had been delighted to see a series of amateur dramatic societies spring up in his district. Yokels who would have been afraid to put two words together came forward and took part in amateur theatricals. It had an extraordinary educational value. He appreciated C.E.M.A. very much; it could give tremendous help to small dramatic societies. Where country people in a small village could do something for themselves and take part in a performance it was like playing a game instead of watching it.

MR. PHILIP JAMES said that compared with the visual arts music and the drama had the incomparable advantage of being broadcast, but nothing could be done to bring painting and sculpture to our fireside. Young people automatically understood modern pictures, because these were of their own experiences, and if such pictures were brought into a small town there would be an enthusiasm for them already existing. Buildings gave an opportunity for restoring the artist to an active position in life on an economic basis—he should be as important as the butcher or baker. His art could be used for the decoration of all the buildings that would be erected after the war including British Restaurants and factory canteens. Art centres should be the aim of every town where people both enjoyed and practised all the arts. Here was an ideal opportunity for a war memorial. It was a creative act to lay down your life for your country, and we should honour it by putting up buildings where creative art could always exist.

MR. SEARLE (Clevedon U.D.C.) said the local authorities were not very well versed in art and music. They wanted the help of people like C.E.M.A. artistically inclined. Another point was that the artists' associations should be strengthened with a view to working with those of the wage earning and salary earning class. There were places like Clevedon where workers started associations of their own, because the authorities would not do anything, and he thought the artists' associations should come into such movements. Another point was the community centre. In his town you could not get a film shown in the local cinema until the vested interests controlling the films said you could have it. His political organization wanted the City of Stalingrad film to be shown on a Sunday in a local cinema but were turned down because of the continued operation of obsolete laws.

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There was a growing number of the younger generation who wanted the things that were being put forward at this meeting. A strong central Government if it meant business would sweep the vested interests out of the way.

MR. L. GORDON HALES (Town Clerk, Bewdley Borough Council) said we should strive to make our people makers rather than takers, and help them to make something worth while of their own lives.

It might be that after the war we should have to continue some self-denial. We might have to put up with the loss of some of the varieties of food and clothing that we used to have and divert some of the money into more profitable channels of active recreation. With the Beveridge proposals in operation we should have millions of people with a great deal of leisure, and in the country towns we must show them how best to use this leisure. Music and art and crafts were taking a fair proportion of school time, and in the country towns we must see that when the children left school they had facilities for continuing these activities. The country towns could do it but needed proper centres and trained leaders.

COUNCILLOR A. E. PYE (Beccles) said there was a serious problem connected with audiences because of recent years people had changed their methods and modes of entertainment. Picture houses and dance halls were packed, but if you put up a stage show in country towns you could not get the people in. It was a question of education. Had our system of education taught us to appreciate and understand the arts? He thought the children were being taught, but there was a problem as to how we could cultivate a desire for theatrical arts among middle-aged people.

MISS GLASGOW said the discussion showed that all they were talking about must be a live thing, springing up from the people themselves. Spoon feeding was no good. We did not want to give people things they would sit still and take passively, we wanted to help them find things which they were going to make themselves. She was afraid this audience would think her commercially minded because she talked of things paying and the economic organization of the arts, and also that they would think her pessimistic about the future. She stuck to her point that things must pay and the arts be organized economically but she repudiated the charge of pessimism. Having heard what the Conference had to say she was going away enormously cheered and optimistic about the future of the real living art of the people of this country.

SESSION FOUR

THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED

CHAIRMAN: W. R. DAVIDGE, F.R.I.B.A., P.P.T.P.I.

Chairman's Opening Remarks

The Chairman said the first essential if advance was to be made was a national planning policy. Mr. Swift in his paper would put forward not merely the aims the conference was striving after, but the definite legislative steps necessary to get a movement in the right direction. Since a lead from the Government in all the respects required was not forthcoming, local authorities and men of common sense would have to give a lead to the Government. He was sure their united voice would in fact be the national policy.

THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED

STATEMENT

BY G. N. C. SWIFT, L.M.T.P.I.

(Deputy Clerk of the Hertfordshire County Council)

For the purposes of reference, the following is a copy of paragraph 7 of the Statement of Policy prepared by the Executive of the Association as a basis for the Conference:

'7. The national planning policy advocated by the Association would actively promote decentralization, by such methods as restricting location of factories and offices in over-concentrated or congested cities; facilitating the development of good alternative locations; and positive inducements to firms to transfer to or establish themselves in such locations. It is suggested that the authorities of country towns should support such measures in the national interest and in their own; and should indicate the additional powers and financial facilities they would require in order to co-operate in it. The necessary measures would appear to include:

'(a) Central approval of revised planning schemes providing for suitable zones for additional industry, commercial offices, and the appropriate housing schemes, and the reservation of country belts around towns. In some cases, better facilities for visitors and holiday-makers would be an appropriate form of local development.

'(b) Stronger powers for planning authorities to safeguard amenities, prevent undesirable development, and control architecture in reasonable harmony with local character.

'(c) Legislation dealing with the problem of compensation and betterment (land values altered or transferred by planning).

'(d) Powers for local authorities of country towns, and county councils, to create, promote and encourage the development of industrial and commercial estates, to provide or secure the provision of factory and office buildings, sidings, and industrial and business facilities, to obtain loans and grants for these purposes, and to acquire land for them.

'(e) Appropriate post-war priorities in material and labour for

housing, extensions of public services and other classes of construction arising from these developments.

‘(f) Qualified central advice and guidance to local authorities on the technique involved in modern industrial and commercial estate development.’

In dealing with this subject I propose to show how far the existing legislation enables the above policy to be carried out, to outline the additional legislation which I suggest is required and to make some suggestions for action by Government departments and Local Authorities.

The Statement of Policy indicates the necessity for a National Planning Policy, the primary factor in which would be the decentralization of industry and population, involving the control of the location of industry and consequential housing development in accordance with a national plan, with adequate provision for the social, mental, and spiritual needs of the people.

As Parliament has never yet laid down any national or rational planning policy, the Local Authorities are, as we all know, placed in a very difficult position when considering the future planning of their areas. If this Conference can assist Parliament and the nation to realize the folly of still further enlarging the existing overgrown towns and the need for revitalizing the small ones it will have achieved a splendid purpose.

Before making suggestions for new powers for Local Authorities, a word of caution might, however, not be out of place, namely that there is frequently a tendency for authorities who clamour for new powers to make little use of them after they have been granted. As an instance, I would submit that the very wide powers already possessed by all Local Authorities for the provision of playing fields have, in far too many cases, not been adequately made use of. The same may be said of the provision of car parks and markets which are wanted in many towns where there is no provision for them.

Central Approval of Planning Schemes

Under the existing legislation, central approval to Planning Schemes is already requisite and the Minister can also specify that Interim Development shall not be permitted without his approval. The Government, therefore, already have some legislative powers, however imperfect, with which to implement a National Policy.

THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED

Once the principles of national control of location of industry and decentralization of population have been settled, then reasonable local latitude in the siting of factories and working out of consequent development, should be allowed.

I propose to deal separately with the question of subsidies towards the end of the paper.

Location of Industry and Correlated Development

Powers are already possessed by Local Authorities under the Town and Country Planning Act to zone suitable areas for industry.

The actual development of industrial sites has, however, except in certain special cases had to be left to the speculative industrial estate developer or to the individual factory owner. I will quote from the Report prepared for the London County Council by Mr. J. H. Forshaw and Professor Patrick Abercrombie—paragraphs 376–380 of which read as follows:

‘It is interesting to note that the Liverpool Corporation is empowered by Section 26 of its Act of 1936 to erect and maintain houses, shops, offices, warehouses and factories, and to sell, lease, exchange or otherwise dispose of such lands and buildings upon such terms as the Corporation may think fit. Section 27 enables it to advance money to any purchaser or lessee of any lands acquired by them for the purpose of assisting in the erection of buildings on such land.

‘By the prudent use of similar powers industry might well be attracted to estates developed by the London County Council and, by proper co-ordination with the Council’s central area reconstruction proposals, displaced industry could be offered suitable sites in the outer areas on advantageous terms.

‘In the development of industrial estates close regard must be had to the type of industry contemplated. Light industry is a big employer of women and young persons; hence some of the heavier variety is desirable if industrial stability is to be achieved and work provided for the young and adult male population. . . .’

I suggest that the Liverpool powers could with advantage be given to all such Borough and District Councils alone or in combination¹ as the Minister of Town and Country Planning might from time to time specify, in conformity with the national planning policy; the powers to be exercised in consultation with the public utility under-

¹ For combinations of authorities see section 91 of the Local Government Act 1933—Joint Committees.

takings and the County Councils, with a right for the bodies consulted to appeal to the Minister in case of disagreement, except where the proposals followed an already approved planning scheme—in which case full consultation and inquiry should have taken place on the making of the Scheme. The County Councils should be given power to act with the consent or at the request of the Minister in the event of default or neglect by the immediate Local Authorities.

It is also suggested that public utility undertakings should be placed under the liability of supplying their particular commodities to any approved trading or housing estate, with a proviso that in the event of default the Local Authority should have power to take over the supply or distribution. The following for reference purposes, although I do not propose to read them in full, are the details of the Liverpool Clauses, which form a useful and fairly comprehensive code, adapted for general use and to give effect to the principles set out above.

LOCATION OF INDUSTRY & CORRELATED DEVELOPMENT (BASED ON LIVERPOOL CORPORATION ACT, 1936, SECT. 26)

The following powers to be conferred on all Borough Councils and District Councils from time to time authorized either alone or in combination by the Minister of Town and Country Planning:

‘(1) The Council may, with the consent of the Minister of Town and Country Planning, and (except where the proposed development is in accordance with the provisions of a Planning Scheme which has become operative), after consultation with the Statutory Undertakers for the supply of gas, water and electricity, and with the County Council, acquire or appropriate any lands within or without the Council’s area for the purpose of laying out and developing the same for industrial use and other development, and on any such lands the Council may erect and maintain houses, shops, offices, warehouses, factories and other buildings and construct sewer pave flag channel and kerb streets roads and ways on any of such lands and may sell lease exchange or otherwise dispose of any such lands houses shops offices warehouses factories or buildings.

‘(2) The Council may also grant building leases of any such lands as aforesaid and may grant any easements rights or privileges in under or over such lands or any part or parts thereof and may use or dispose of the building or other materials of any houses and

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premises on any lands acquired by them which they may deem it necessary or desirable to pull down.

‘(3) The Council in selling or disposing of such lands may attach to the same and may convey or lease the same subject to any conditions and restrictions as to the use thereof and as to the buildings to be erected thereon and as to the use to which such buildings may be put. Any such conditions and restrictions may be enforced by the Council against the owners and occupiers for the time being of the said lands or part thereof.

‘(4) The Council shall not without the consent of the Minister of Health sell lease exchange or otherwise dispose of any of the lands to which this section applies at a price or rent or for a consideration of a value less than the current market value of such lands but a purchaser or lessee shall not be concerned to enquire whether the consent of the Minister is necessary or has been obtained.

‘(5) Nothing in this section shall authorise any contravention of section 27 of the Gas Undertakings Act 1934.¹

‘(6) Nothing in this section shall be taken to dispense with the necessity for obtaining the approval of any Minister of the Crown to any alienation sale lease appropriation or other disposition of any lands acquired under any general Act for which such approval would be required but for the provisions of this section.²

‘(7) Where a statutory undertaking for the supply of gas water or electricity refuses or neglects to provide an adequate supply thereof for any developments carried out under the powers conferred by this Section, the Minister may by Order transfer to the Council any powers property or rights of the statutory undertaker concerned so far as may be necessary and subject to such terms conditions and obligations as may be specified in the said Order.’

(1) The Council may advance money to the purchaser or lessee of any lands acquired from or leased by them for the purpose of enabling or assisting him to erect buildings on such lands provided that any advance shall not exceed 90 per cent of the amount which in the opinion of the Corporation will be the market value of the interest of such purchaser or lessee in the lands with the intended buildings erected thereon.³

¹ Avoidance of Provisions in Leases, etc., preventing supply of gas.

² (Ref. Air Navigation Act 1936.)

³ Note: two-thirds in the Liv. Act. increased to 90 per cent as in the S.D.A.A.
[Based on Section 27.]

(2) Every such advance shall be repaid with interest at a rate not less than the rate for the time being in operation under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Acts 1899 to 1923 as amended by the Housing Act 1936, or any subsequent enactment, within such period not exceeding thirty years from the date of the advance as may be agreed upon between the Council and the purchaser or lessee.

(3) The repayment may be made either by equal instalments of principal or by an annuity of principal and interest combined and all payments on account of principal and interest shall be made at such periods not exceeding half a year as may be agreed between the said purchaser or lessee and the Council.

(4) Any such purchaser or lessee to whom an advance has been made may at any of the usual quarter days after one month's written notice and on paying all sums then due on account of interest repay to the Council the whole of the outstanding principal of the advance or any part thereof being one hundred pounds (or such less sum as may be provided in the instrument hereinafter referred to) or a multiple of one hundred pounds (or such less sum as aforesaid) and where the repayment is made by an annuity of principal and interest combined the amount so outstanding and the amount by which the annuity will be reduced when a part of the advance shall be paid off shall be determined by a table to be annexed to the instrument securing the repayment of the advance.

(5) Before making any advance under this section the Council shall be satisfied that the repayment to them of the advance is secured by a mortgage of the building in respect of the erection of which the advance is made and of the land upon which such building is to be erected or of the lessee's interest therein to the Council subject to the right of redemption by the said purchaser or lessee and requiring the said purchaser or lessee to keep the building insured against fire to the satisfaction of the Council and to produce the receipt for the premium paid in respect of such insurance to the Council when required by them and to keep the building in good repair.

(6) The Council shall have power to enter the building in respect of the erection of which any advance is made by them by any person authorized by them in writing for the purpose at all reasonable times for the purpose of ascertaining whether the conditions of this section and of the instrument aforesaid are complied with.

(7) The said purchaser or lessee may with the permission of the Council (which permission shall not be unreasonably withheld) at

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any time transfer his interest in the building in respect of the erection of which such advance is made and the land upon which the same is erected but any such transfer shall be made subject to the foregoing provisions of this section.

DEFINITION & DEFAULT SECTION

'(1) For the purposes of the immediately preceding two sections of this Act, the expression "the Council" shall mean the Council of any County or Municipal Borough or Urban or Rural District from time to time authorized by Order of the Minister of Town and Country Planning to exercise the said powers.

'(2) If, in the opinion of the Minister, any Council as above defined has refused or neglected to exercise any powers conferred on them as aforesaid, the Minister may by Order transfer such powers to the Council of the Administrative County within which the Borough or District, as the case may be, is situate, and such Order may make all such provisions as may be necessary for transferring to the County Council any property or rights of the Borough or Urban District Council subject to such terms, conditions and obligations as may be specified in the said Order.

'All expenses incurred by the County Council in exercising any powers hereunder shall be for special County purposes, chargeable on the Borough or District Council concerned except to such extent if any as the Minister of Health may consent to the same being defrayed as expenses for general County purposes.'

General Interim Development and Planning Scheme Consultation

With a view to ensuring proper consideration for the services supplied by public utility undertakers and County Councils, the Minister should be asked to ensure under the Town and Country Planning Interim Development Act, 1943, that these bodies are consulted by the local planning authorities concerned, and due consideration given to their views, before interim development on a substantial scale, whether by the local authority or by private enterprise, is approved. The Minister should also ensure adequate consultation and co-operation on all such matters before any Planning Scheme is approved.

Housing

Adequate powers for the erection of houses for the 'working classes'

already exist under the Housing Act 1936, and local authorities have power to make loans for the improvement of working-class accommodation (Section 90).

Under Section 91 Local Authorities and County Councils may also advance money to persons or bodies of persons for the purpose of increasing housing accommodation and may guarantee advances made by Building Societies. This Section does not specifically mention that it is confined to houses for the working classes but the whole of Part V of the Act comes under the heading of 'Provision of Housing Accommodation for the Working Classes'.

Section 93 enables Local Authorities and County Councils to promote and assist housing associations for the provision of houses for the working classes. Further provisions are contained in Section 94.

Apart from the special 'Liverpool' provisions set out above, powers should, I submit, be given to all Housing Authorities to assist in the provision of housing accommodation generally, and not be confined merely to the housing of the 'working classes'.

In any well balanced development, houses are required for all classes and, seeing that the salaried sections of the community pay a very large proportion of the rates and taxes of the country, there seems no logical reason why they should not be entitled to enjoy as favourable interest rates as the working classes or why suitable sites for their houses should not be secured, where necessary by compulsory purchase, by the Local Authority.

From the Authorities' own point of view, if they were enabled to act as landlords for better class houses, they would be able to secure the protection of amenities and the erection of those houses in places well suited for the needs of the clerical, etc., employees in the factories and businesses which were being established in and around their towns.

It could not be expected, however, that subsidies would be forthcoming for houses beyond a reasonable prime cost figure to be fixed from time to time by the Minister of Health in accordance with current prices.

I would also suggest the extension of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Acts to houses of a market value of not exceeding £3,000 with liberty for the Minister of Health to revise this figure from time to time.

I might mention in passing the inclination on the part of some Authorities and their officials to make too elaborate regulations affecting their tenants and to plead for the tenants to have the greatest reasonable measure of liberty.

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I personally should like to see Authorities prohibited from building flats unless they were able to make out a case to the satisfaction of the Minister of Health or of Town and Country Planning that the flats were really desired by the people who would have to live in them.

Hotels, Restaurants, Theatres, Concert Halls, Art Galleries, Assembly Rooms and Cinemas

Public enterprise has reached a point at which general powers might well be given to County Councils, and Borough and Urban District Councils to provide hotels, hostels, restaurants, etc., and either to manage the same themselves or lease them to private firms. The British Restaurants, provided under the Defence Regulations, have in many places fulfilled a useful function. The management of the hotel and restaurant business in the majority of cases is, however, probably best left to private enterprise although the Local Authority could usefully control the freehold and acquire and hold the necessary sites in suitable cases. This power would probably be most valued by seaside towns and other places of public resort, in addition to industrial towns.

General powers to provide and manage or lease theatres, concert halls, art galleries, assembly rooms and cinemas should also be given to all such authorities, free from any restrictions. If Local Authorities are trusted with the Local Government of the Country, it is high time that they were trusted to provide for public entertainment where necessary. The Local Authorities would obviously only use these powers reasonably.

The County Councils and other Authorities should have power to combine together or to contribute to each other's expenses.

Education Act: Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, etc.

Under existing legislation wide powers to provide community centres, etc., are already possessed by Education and other Authorities. The attention of Parliament should, however, at once be drawn to the desirability of giving in the new Education Bill all education authorities express power to incorporate in school and college layouts suitable buildings for music, drama, the arts and cinema, which buildings could well serve a dual purpose in the small places both for the schools' and colleges' own use and for the use at other times of the general public, with power for Local Authorities who are not

Education Authorities to contribute to the cost and have some agreed rights in such buildings.

The proviso to Section 56 of the Public Health Act 1925, which is incorporated in the above Act of 1937, and which bans stage plays, variety entertainments and cinematograph films, scenery, theatrical costumes, etc., in connection with entertainments provided by Local Authorities or on their premises should be entirely repealed. It is curious that Parliament should have put an express ban on stage plays, variety, cinematograph films and theatrical scenery and costumes in this connection.

These amended powers might well be combined in a fresh Act of Parliament with the wide general powers previously suggested. In any event the new Education Bill should include the provision above suggested.

Although I do not propose to read it in full, I set out for reference a note of the existing legislation.

POWERS OF EDUCATION AUTHORITIES. HOLIDAY CAMPS, COMMUNITY CENTRES. *Section 86 of the Education Act, 1921, as amended by the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, Section 6, enables:*

'... local elementary education authorities as respects children attending public elementary schools, and local higher education authorities as respects other children and *persons of whatever age* to provide or aid the supply of:

(a) holiday or school camps, especially for young persons attending continuation schools;

(b) centres and equipment for physical training, playing fields (other than the ordinary playgrounds of public elementary schools not provided by the local education authority), school baths, school swimming baths;

(c) other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening.'

RECREATION GROUNDS, PLAYING FIELDS, Etc., POWERS OF ALL LOCAL AUTHORITIES. *Section 4 (1) of the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, also provides that Parish, District and County Councils may:*

'acquire, lay out, provide with suitable buildings and otherwise equip, and maintain lands, whether situate within or without their

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area, for the purpose of gymnasias, playing fields, holiday camps or camping sites, or for the purpose of centres for the use of clubs, societies or organizations having athletic, social or educational objects, and may manage those lands and buildings themselves, either with or without a charge for the use thereof or admission thereto, or may let them, or any portion thereof, at a nominal or other rent to any person, club, society or organization for use for any of the purposes aforesaid.'

Teachers, wardens and leaders may also be trained and provided.

These very comprehensive powers have not yet been made adequate use of. They are not restricted to outdoor recreation and might well, it is submitted, extend to the provision of suitable centres in every appropriate town or other place.

Sub-section (3) extends to County Councils the power to provide public swimming baths and bathing places under Part VIII of the Public Health Act, 1936.

Sub-section (4) enables authorities to combine and contribute towards the expense of other Authorities.

It might be of interest here to mention that prior to the outbreak of war the Hertfordshire County Council were encouraging the provision in the towns and villages throughout the County of Hertford of adequate recreation grounds and playing fields, including suitable pavilions and buildings.

Generally speaking, the County Council offered a grant of 25 per cent of the approved cost in Urban areas and 40 per cent of the cost in Rural areas, leaving the district or parish authorities to obtain such further grants as they were able from the Government, or from other outside sources, such as the National Playing Fields Association.

Garden Cities

Section 35 of the Town and Country Planning Act enables the Minister (now the Minister of Town and Country Planning) subject to certain conditions, to acquire land on behalf of any Local Authority or two or more Local Authorities or of an Authorized Association for the development of a Garden City or the extension of an existing Garden City. The phrase 'Local Authority' includes a County Council and 'Garden City' includes Garden Suburb or Garden Village.

By sub-section (3), a Local Authority may acquire land either by

agreement or compulsorily for the same purpose as if such land were comprised in a planning scheme and required by a responsible Authority.

Sub-section (4) provides as follows: 'Any land acquired under the foregoing provisions of this Section shall be developed in accordance with proposals approved by the Minister'. The Public Works Loan Commissioners may advance loans to any authorized Association.

Under sub-section (7) of this section (35) the phrase 'Authorized Association' means any society, company or body of persons approved by the Minister whose objects include the promotion, formation or management of garden cities and the erection, improvement or management of buildings for the working classes *and others* and which does not trade for profit, or whose constitution forbids the issue of any share or loan capital with interest or dividend exceeding the rate for the time being fixed by the Treasury.

This section of the Town and Country Planning Act 1932 is so widely drawn that in my opinion it already gives all the powers required to enable County Councils and other Local Authorities, as well as Authorized Associations, to lay out and develop Garden Cities. The very extent of the powers, however, seems to have 'put the wind up' everyone concerned, as if it could not be believed as true that Parliament had really been so rash as to have meant what it said.

In view of the previous inaction of Local Authorities under this Section it seems doubtful whether, except perhaps in a few exceptional cases they will be likely in the future to set up entirely new Garden Cities. It is difficult to stimulate the enthusiasm of ratepayers, in existing towns, for the setting up of a new town which they, probably rather shortsightedly, regard as a competitor, and private promotion of 'Authorized Associations' is not likely to amount to anything worth while.

The policy of this Association has always been to encourage the formation of an adequate number of new towns, and from our experience in the County of Hertford I can confidently say that these new towns do not destroy the values of existing towns but that, taking a long view, they considerably add to the attractiveness and life of the county and by the increase in the rateable value which they bring they eventually become a help and asset to their older neighbours.

In view of past experience I would propose that the Government be urged to create a National Garden Cities Corporation, charged with the duty of

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providing an adequate number of new Garden Cities, throughout the country; in conformity with the National Policy, the powers of the Corporation to be in addition to the powers already conferred on and proposed for existing Authorities and Associations. The Corporation's powers to be exercised in consultation with the Planning Authorities and County Councils and to be subject to the approval of the Minister of Town and Country Planning.

The Corporation should also have the power to form 'Authorized Associations'.

Advertising

It seems reasonable that the power to advertise the attractions of their areas should be conferred on all Borough and Urban District Councils, subject to a reasonable maximum of expenditure in any one year.

Open Belts round Towns, Compensation, Betterment and Stronger Planning Powers to prevent Undesirable Development

These matters have been the subject of authoritative reports such as the Uthwatt Report which are already being considered by the Government.

Good planning in and around country towns and, indeed, anywhere else, cannot be undertaken unless the compensation and betterment question has been solved, either on the lines of the Uthwatt Report or by some other effective scheme. As an illustration, I would mention that for the Greater London Green Belt in Hertfordshire the County Council have already assisted in preserving land worth about £1,000,000 but to do the job properly under existing powers would, without exaggeration, cost several millions more, as building value has to be paid out in almost every case. Without adequate Green Belts, towns will always tend to run together, thus depriving people of that easy access to the countryside which is so essential to well-being. The Green Belts should be used mainly for agriculture, but public walks would be preserved and access to woodlands. Parts of the Belts would be laid out as golf courses and for public recreation. The Green Belt (London and Home Counties) Act, 1938, might be extended with adaptations to the rest of the country, strengthened by the compulsory acquisition powers referred to below, which could be similar to those already possessed by the Hertfordshire County Council under their Act of 1935, section 14

of which gives the Council power to acquire land by compulsion if necessary *'for the purpose of preserving such land as an Open Space or of preventing or regulating the erection of buildings thereon'*, with a further power to lease the same to Local Authorities and Parish Councils.

Acquisition of Land (Compulsory Powers)

For the provision of factory sites, etc., and, as I have said, for Green Belt purposes, the appropriate Authority should have power to purchase land compulsorily by means of an Order confirmed by the appropriate Minister, under Section 161 of the Local Government Act, 1933, with any necessary adaptations. Special powers should also be given to enable the Minister, in cases of urgency for the relief of unemployment or the immediate putting in hand of works of national importance, to authorize an Authority to enter and take possession of land on giving seven days' notice, the details of compensation, etc., to be settled afterwards.

Aerodromes

Do not let us forget that we are on the eve of the Air Age. Action should be taken by Local Authorities wherever necessary under the Air Navigation Acts 1920 and 1936, to secure the sites of suitable aerodromes which could either be maintained by the authorities or leased to private companies. Many war-time aerodromes will have to be taken over and used for civil purposes. Reservations under Planning Schemes are useful until actual purchase can take place.

I may mention one case in Hertfordshire where three authorities and the County Council have jointly reserved an aerodrome site under a Joint Planning Scheme with the approval of the Air Ministry, involving, of course, extensive height restrictions on development over a large adjoining area. It is no use reserving an aerodrome site and allowing building development to creep up to it.

Finance and Government Subsidies

I do not feel that this Conference can usefully recommend any particular rate of subsidy for any particular activity as the subsidies to be granted must be in the discretion of the Government. There is sometimes an undue tendency on the part of Local Authorities in general to refuse to take action under the powers which they may have unless and until some Government department gives them a subsidy.

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Subsidies are all very well and may be pleasant to receive, but they may result in giving departments too strong a hold over the operations of the Local Authorities and of subjecting them in many cases to irksome regulations. Some reasonable amount of local independence should be retained.

One way in which the Government can help authorities is to make money available to them at the present low rates of interest. This is a point which should be stressed. Provision should also be made whereby the Public Works Loan Board would have to accept repayment of Local Authorities' loans on, say, six months' notice at any time.

The Government might well be asked to take permanent power to make grants (say, through the B.B.C. or a continuation of C.E.M.A.) to national or local associations, having for their object the furtherance of music, art, drama and films. County and other Local Authorities should also have general powers to subsidize such local associations.

Notwithstanding what I have said with regard to the general principle of subsidies, adequate subsidies will be necessary for housing as well as for education and hospital services, and would prove a useful stimulus for the provision of community centres, and facilities for drama, etc. Subsidies for aerodromes may be necessary in the initial stages.

In furtherance of a national policy of decentralization it might be necessary for the Government to subsidize the provision of factories, etc., including drainage facilities for trade wastes. Specially high rates of subsidy for housing, and the power to pay or contribute to the expenses of removal of plant and furniture, might also be necessary to attract to specially selected areas the surplus populations from the large towns.

Post-War Priorities

Matters under this heading can be dealt with by Government action through the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and the Ministry of Works and Buildings, and do not call for any specific legislative suggestions by the Conference.

Qualified Central Advice and Guidance to Local Authorities on Modern Industrial and Commercial Estate Development

A Central Advice and Guidance Bureau should be set up by the Ministries of Town and Country Planning and Works and Buildings

to give advice and guidance to Local Authorities, authorized associations, public utility undertakings and private developers in connection with modern industrial estate development and associated problems.

Co-operation Between Authorities

The Borough and District Councils and the County Councils should work in the very closest touch and co-operate fully in providing the necessary services for which they are respectively responsible.

Goods and Passenger Transport

Local Authorities might well be given general powers (either alone or in combination) to provide transport facilities subject always to the consent of the Regional Traffic Commissioner.

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DISCUSSION

OPENED BY MR. GEORGE R. BULL

(Town Clerk of Haslingden, Lancs.)

The discussion which followed Mr. Swift's paper was one of the most vigorous and lengthy of the Conference.

MR. GEORGE R. BULL (Town Clerk of Haslingden, Lancs.) opened it by saying that he did not agree with a lot that Mr. Swift had said. Population was the second greatest need of the small country town, the first need being security. They wanted above all things a statement from the Government on the Government Policy (hear, hear). He thought this transcended in importance the question of the actual legislation required. They could not know what legislation they would require, or what their potentialities were going to be, or what their needs were going to be until they knew the Government's policy. The Local Authorities could not go into this matter in a vacuum, they must do it within a national planning policy. It was not their function to ask for powers.

The location of industry was the one link that united the various local authorities together, and he made bold to say that it was perhaps the greatest link between the local authorities and the Town and Country Planning Association. What was the position with regard to the Barlow Report? Questions had been asked in Parliament but there had been no definite replies. Whether local authorities could expect the Barlow Report to be fully implemented or not no one could say, but this was of paramount importance.

Coming to Mr. Swift's paper, his points of difference with Mr. Swift were the result of ten years' very bitter practical experience as the Town Clerk of an industrial town, which had been trying to attract industry for more than twenty years. During the ten years immediately before the war one of the principal jobs of the local authority had been the attraction of new industries, because of the decay of the town's staple industry. The field of activity had not been confined to this country. Town clerks and deputations from towns in Lancashire had gone over to Germany, Belgium and Northern

France, trying to induce industries to leave those areas and set up in Lancashire, and this move had had a fair measure of success in the larger towns—places which were prepared to break the law.

Coming up to London for the Conference he had passed through a town where there was a notice, 'Put your industry here—cheap sites and preferential rating.' He hoped that was only a survival of the old scramble which local authorities were not going to have again. Mr. Swift advocated that towns should be given the Liverpool powers, and then qualified this by saying, only towns selected by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. But if one town was granted powers what would happen? All the other towns would agitate for similar powers. There would be lobbying. Towns needing industry and population would get it or there would be an unholy rumpus. The next reason why towns should not be given the Liverpool powers was because this would open the door to a class of individual who had come very much into prominence before the war, namely, the industrial adventurer. Such people used to go to a town and be welcomed with open arms, but when the tumult and the shouting died it was realized there was not much in it.

He remembered a mining town in Durham. The mines had been working badly and there was a considerable amount of distress when into that town came a factory for making oil out of coal. There had been such local jubilation that after evensong at the local parish church they had a special verse of the Doxology. Then the factory came. Everybody's hopes were excited, but the factory made no difference to the staple trade of that town because it soon closed down again. He expected the Town Council concerned had gone to no end of expense with the ratepayers' money encouraging something of no practical utility. He could give many further instances.

Mr. Swift went on to say that power should be given to local authorities in consultation with Public Utility undertakings. Public utilities might be carried on either by municipal or private enterprise. If it was a case of private enterprise the industry would stand a good chance of being located close to generating stations which might not be to the benefit of the local authority. If the public utility undertaker was another local authority—supposing you were near a large town—the industry would stand a chance of being located inside that large town. Further consultation with the County Council would probably lead to a contravention of the principles of the Scott Report because the country would be so anxious to get the industry

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for its rateable value in the county area that valuable agricultural land would be utilized for the purpose. Industry should not be allowed to become a scramble after the war. It should locate itself where its needs could be met economically, and where it would not conflict with a public amenity; if those two principles were not rigidly followed factories would be put up not near enough to markets, or to the source of raw materials, and the industry would go. Another point was Mr. Swift's limit of £3,000 under the Small Dwellings Act. The figure was far too high, £1,000 would be ample for the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act.

He (Mr. Bull) did not wish to spend time on the question of the power to provide artistic opportunities for people in many local government areas—he regarded the industrial side as of so much more importance. Art should be free and unfettered, and if it depended upon subsidies it would not be so.

With regard to the other points in Mr. Swift's paper, green belts, aerodromes and the compulsory acquisition of land, the delegates at the Conference were all in perfect accord. Mr. Reiss had asked how a small town should proceed, and he (Mr. Bull) thought the small town should first of all know itself. Yesterday afternoon they had heard of Liskeard being very much worried about its internal domestic arrangements; Liskeard should go in for a civic survey, seeing what was wrong and then to putting things right. At the same time Liskeard should proceed with its practical planning proposal, bearing in mind that things which were wrong could be put right. A third thing a local authority should do when it had got planning proposals was go in for publicity. It should notify the Government and notify its own people of its potentialities and aspirations; and the time for this was now: if it was not done now it would be too late.

The crux of the matter was that local authorities should not rush to state what legislation they required until they knew what legislation they would need. All classes of local authority must co-operate: if they did not the last All Clear would be the starting signal for such a scramble as had never been. Let them go forward in the widest consultation and get together not only with each other but with other partners in this job.

MR. L. GORDON HALES (Town Clerk, Borough of Bewdley) brought up the subject of camping, which he said had become a matter of vital importance to country towns because the influx of holiday-making town dwellers, though a good thing in itself, had

DISCUSSION

brought with it abuses—notably from the use of uncontrolled temporary buildings—which damaged the amenities of country towns. Some of their visitors were living for a week in conditions comparing unfavourably with those in a pigsty. In spite of this the Ministry of Health just before the war had issued a circular which excluded camping from control under planning schemes and putting it under section 269 of the Public Health Act, 1936, which would need a large army of sanitary inspectors to operate, with all the responsibility falling on the inspector and none on Whitehall. He wanted the Town and Country Planning Association to take up the matter, with a view to prohibiting camping in certain places of natural interest and beauty such as river valleys—say within two or three hundred yards of the river.

COUNCILLOR KENDALL (Malvern, Worcestershire) spoke on the standardization of prices of electricity. He said: If we are to add one more amenity to the control of industry in various parts of the country, it will be a helpful thing if the nation can, as a question of national policy, standardize prices throughout the country.

Coal and possibly the transport of materials, if looked at from a national point of view, could be dealt with on the same lines.

MR. G. E. HUGHES (Bath): For reasons of security and other reasons we in this room are very largely in the dark as to what is going on in other parts of the country. We have information as to new towns and new sites that have been developed, and cannot say what the repercussions will be on our own towns. I urge strongly that the Government should now put in hand a complete and detailed survey of the whole of the war-time development including the nature of the development, the length of roads, expenditure on sewerage, provision of services, nature of factory, aerodrome, etc., put up and the proximity to other centres. Those who are contemplating development in country towns may then look at the matter regionally. At the present time we are entirely dependent on casual gossip. We want to know immediately on the declaration of peace the whole of these war-time developments. The whole should be embodied in a book divided into regions and available to all planning authorities.

MR. PLINSTON (Sedgley): I do not like that part of Mr. Swift's paper that the expenses of the county council if they act in default should be special expenses chargeable on the district council. As a result of development in county districts the county gets approximately two-thirds of the rates from the development, and instead of

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being able to charge it as a special expense on the county district they should have it laid on them to pay the major part of the expenses as expenses for general county purposes.

MR. SEARLE (Clevedon) objected that Mr. Swift's proposal tended to a segregation of classes. He (Mr. Searle) wanted a housing plan centrally directed to prevent that. We wanted an England based on those people who rendered service and produced good for the public well-being. Where he lived the town was on a hill overlooking the Bristol Channel. You could see north, south, east and west, but some of his Council wanted to segregate working class homes near a place where the main water level was less than ten feet from the surface of the ground. In regard to central planning, he considered that where rural areas were concerned the Ministry of Agriculture should be consulted as well as the Ministries of Health and of Town and Country Planning. It was suggested that local authorities should work together, but until they got a central lead local authorities were in the dark.

COUNCILLOR MOSLEY (Utttoxeter) said that if the suggestions contained in Mr. Swift's paper were carried out the result would be to increase the powers of county councils to the detriment of the smaller authorities, such as the country towns. He continued: I know of an area which is up against the fact that all the land most suitable for industrial development is already in the possession of one firm who will not let go in any circumstances for further industrial development. The result is there can be no further industrial development in that area until the local authorities have the power of compulsory purchase in such cases for further industrial development.

MR. GLASSPOOL (Clerk to the Market Harborough U.D.C.) wanted to know: why do we exclude the rural district councils from these (Mr. Swift's) proposals? It was apparent that the combinations of local authorities are to be the councils of urban districts, boroughs and counties. We should do away with that thin red line, particularly where the local authority boundary runs between two counties. Market Harborough was in Leicestershire, but part lay over the border in Northamptonshire. We dare not put a finger across the thin red line in spite of the fact that desirable development could take place in that direction.

He objected to needing the sanction of the Minister of Town and Country Planning. There would be no end of trouble if it were left to the Minister to pick and choose his authorities.

DISCUSSION

On the question of segregation of classes for housing, he took issue. His own experience in five towns, each with considerable housing activities, was that the people were mixed excepting where the local authority moved a body of people *en bloc* from a condemned area to a specific site. In the normal way of council houses he did not think due regard was paid by the letting department to the fact that John Brown next door is a sweep and the man going into this house is a clerk.

Finally, as to the speculation by local authorities in the development of industrial estates, he said: That is not a financial possibility for most of the authorities represented here to-day. They have not the finance to do it, and it brings back the point that we need power to have a combination of authorities within or without a county in order that the authorities' financial position will permit of the development of those industrial estates.

MR. KIRK (Town Clerk, Hemel Hempstead M.B.): I agree with Mr. Swift that there is need for the smaller authorities to consult with the county council. A small authority cannot put the whole of the house in order before setting out to attract industry because it has nothing to do with maternity, child welfare, schools and provisions of that sort for which the county council are responsible. I suggest that if there is to be any requirement that the local authorities are to consult with the county councils when the local authorities are exercising their own powers, the county council should also be required to consult with the local authorities when they are mapping out their larger services. Personally I should like to see something in the nature of a power of initiative in the local authorities to push the county council. In all these other services the county council should work with the local authority when preparing a radical development of those services, including education, for which the county council are responsible.

MR. ROBINSON (Skipton U.D.C.) said one problem facing Skipton and many other small towns was that the town besides serving its own population had to provide many services for an adjoining population equally large but under a rural district council. The people living in the outlying districts ought to have a direct interest in the local government of the town.

MR. McMILLAN (Yeovil Borough) said local authorities should be authorized to enter upon land for the purpose of considering its suitability for housing development and taking necessary levels and

THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED

surveys. He could find no power in the Housing Act which would authorize the members of a local authority or their officials to enter upon land with the object of ascertaining whether it was suitable or not.

MR. J. BULMAN (Clerk, Malvern U.D.C.) pointed out that a ridiculous position had arisen when local authorities were asked, in promoting holidays at home, to put on stage plays but they were prohibited by the Public Health Act from doing so. Local authorities could not grumble at county councils being given default powers. If they failed and somebody else stepped in it was their own fault. But default powers should work the other way round as well. All urban district councils were not, for example, maternity and child welfare authorities; in many cases the county council was the authority. Where a county council had failed to provide an adequate maternity and child welfare service, including a maternity home, the urban district council ought to receive the power.

MR. OLDERSHAW (East Berks Regional Planning Committee) suggested that the judge of any planning scheme put forward should not be the department responsible for the town and country planning. It should be an independent committee with co-ordinating as well as judicial function, representing the different government departments with different interests in the matter, and especially informed as to any over-riding interests such as those of the War Office and Ministry of Transport.

MR. SWIFT, in replying to the discussion, denied that he was out to get extra powers for county councils. His paper, prepared in consultation with a representative committee, stated a reasoned policy based not on the whole of the law relating to local authorities and a possible reorganization of local authorities in the future, but on the statement issued by the executive of the Town and Country Planning Association. He continued: Mr. Bull apparently does not like the idea of small towns developing industrial estates. I thought Mr. Bull and his council had more or less subscribed to paragraph 7 (d) of the statement of policy which indicates that legislation is required to enable small towns who wish for powers to have them. I suggest a code of powers which I think would be satisfactory but it would not be incumbent on any authority that did not wish to have those powers to exercise them, unless the Minister of Town and Country Planning asked them to do so. Those powers could only be given by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning because

DISCUSSION

that is the only central planning authority the Government contemplate.

Such matters as camping referred to by the Town Clerk of Bewdley, he said, were rather outside the scope of his paper, but representations could be made to the Ministry of Health for the strengthening of Section 269 of the Public Health Act, 1936. Some counties and districts have special powers dealing with that point in private Acts.

Mr. Swift went on: The standardization of the price of electricity all over the country referred to by Councillor Kendall of Malvern is a matter I do not think I can make a statement on. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Plinston of Sedgley you could, if desired, put in a recommendation that County Councils should have power to contribute towards the development of trading estates; but apart from this I see no reason why if a local authority makes default in carrying out their powers any expenses incurred by a County Council should not be charged as special expenses in the area of such authority. With reference to Mr. Glasspool's point the statement of policy is confined to the country towns and, therefore, I have not put in my suggested class county boroughs or rural district councils. If they want powers they are capable of asking for them. Ebbw Vale want power to control dust and grit. It is a technical matter and the point can be dealt with as far as possible.

Whatever new legislative powers are obtained nothing can do away with the necessity for friendly working arrangements between the different classes of authority and public utility undertakings. I personally should see no objection to some power being given to an appropriate authority to undertake services if a County Council on their part made default in providing proper services for which they are responsible.

Maternity Centres are wanted and you should press your county authority to give you better services after the war.

With regard to the powers of local authorities to put up houses, I suggest they should not be confined to housing for the working classes. We are all workers now. Council houses are at the present time all of a definite type. You should be empowered to put up a better type of house, and, if there are people who would pay higher rents they could have those better houses. This, contrary to what Mr. Searle stated, would tend to prevent the segregation which is now so prevalent. Many people would rather live on a privately developed estate not because of snobbery but because they do

THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED

not like the general level of drabness in so many Council Estates.

Where a Local Authority have got approval for new industrial development the Statutory Undertakers should be under obligation to supply their products and, if they default, power should be given to you to step in and take over.

THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

CHAIRMAN: F. J. OSBORN

(*Hon. Secretary, Town and Country Planning Association*)

When the Conference met for the final session it had four resolutions before it.

MR. OSBORN said that in drafting the resolutions he had to take account of several things. One of these was that the Town and Country Planning Association was not a body representing only local authorities: it was a public educational and propaganda body which anyone could join, and it was a body with a policy.

The Conference had come together on a policy which the vast majority of country towns would support, but neither this Conference nor any other could lay down a policy for the Town and Country Planning Association. That was a matter for the whole body of members, not local government members only.

The object of the Association was to give a lead to the country on the planning issues in the light of a great deal of knowledge and experience accumulated over a period of years. Any policy gradually developed as the result of conferences because every conference produced new information which had to be taken into account in guiding future policy. But he would remind the Conference that the Association had given very carefully considered evidence to the Barlow Commission in 1938, and afterwards to the Uthwatt and Scott Commissions. They had also given evidence to the Ministry of Health's Housing Advisory Committee.

All these things had been based upon a great deal of thought and discussion, but as the subject developed the Association continually got new points of view. Circumstances changed and the Association tried to keep alive to the latest developments.

Another matter was that the country towns represented at the Conference were not all the country towns in this country, although, on the other hand, they were the country towns that had been most interested in coming to the Conference and therefore had a special position in the matter. But in taking any action the Association had to consider the taking of action or appointing of a committee likely to commend itself to the majority of authorities of the same type throughout the country.

The first resolution proposed the appointment of an Advisory Committee to assist the Town and Country Planning Association,

THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

and it was open to the Conference to say whether it wanted a committee of the Conference with powers to act or an Advisory Committee to the Association.

Mr. Osborn then commented on the resolutions and said the many practical and useful suggestions which had been made at the Conference must be got together in a code. This was the purpose of the proposed committee.

Mr. Osborn said that he had been asked to state the composition of the Conference. This was as follows: 17 rural district councils, 34 urban district councils, 34 boroughs (all under 30,000), 4 county boroughs (small ones), 12 county councils, 2 city councils (smallish bodies) and 4 joint planning committees. In addition there were 24 associations for amenities, arts and development: in all, 107 associated local government bodies and 24 of another character.

It was agreed that an Advisory Committee should be formed, and in the discussion which followed points made were that it should be representative of different regions, that it should be limited to ten members, drawn from five classes of local government the committee to have power to co-opt, and to invite evidence from appropriate authorities and individuals.

After further discussion the following resolutions were finally adopted by the Conference:

1. That the Conference requests the Town and Country Planning Association to consider further the matters discussed at the Conference with a view to such action as may advance the policy.
2. That the Conference nominates an Advisory Committee to assist the Town and Country Planning Association in considering the matters arising out of the Conference.
3. That the existing country towns of Britain present opportunities of development capable of catering for a considerable measure of decentralization of industry, business and population from over-large towns and congested areas, and of providing better living and working conditions for many people from those areas.
4. That the Conference registers its general support of the policy outlined in the Executive Statement of the Town and Country Planning Association which formed the basis of discussion at the Conference, and urges the Government to make an immediate statement that they adopt in principle the recommendations of the Barlow Report for the decentralization of industry, business and population from the congested urban areas.

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LIST OF DELEGATES

at the Conference

on, 'Country Towns in a National Planning Policy'
at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2
on Friday and Saturday, 22nd and 23rd October 1943

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Adams, James W. R. | Belper R.D.C.: |
| Adburgham, Miss J. F. | Councillor T. Cooke, J.P. |
| Aitken, Miss E. C. | Bewdley, Borough: |
| Alston-with-Carrigill R.D.C.: | Alderman R. B. Jackson |
| Robson, K. A. | Alderman H. N. Frost, C.C. |
| Andover, Borough: | Hales, L. Gordon |
| Alderman B. Shaw Porter | Blackpool, County Borough: |
| Offord, R. S., B.Sc. | Councillor Joseph Hill |
| Aylesbury, Borough: | Councillor J. B. Singleton |
| Alderman E. P. Gilkes | Drake, J., B.Sc., A.M.INST.C.E. |
| Crookes, H. | Booker, D. R., F.A.I. |
| Ashby, Professor A. W. | Brackley, Borough: |
| Association for Regional Reconstruc- | Councillor W. Johnson |
| tion: | Braintree & Bocking U.D.C.: |
| Tyrwhitt, Miss J. | Councillor E. V. Hoare |
| Ayris, H. E. | Councillor G. P. King |
| | Brassey-Edwards, S. |
| Bainbridge, T. B. | Brentwood U.D.C.: |
| Balfour, G. | Councillor F. Collins |
| Bangor, Borough: | British Nylon Spinners, Ltd.: |
| Gaw, John A. | Hilton, C. L. |
| Barrow-in-Furness, County Borough: | Broadstairs & St. Peters U.D.C.: |
| Councillor G. D. Hastwell | Councillor O. Robinson |
| Wooldridge, F. L. | Buckingham, County: |
| Basford R.D.C.: | County Councillor H. K. Scott |
| Two delegates | Prince, A. H. |
| Basingstoke & District Joint Town | Buxton, Borough: |
| Planning Committee: | Alderman F. Hall |
| Major F. H. T. Jervoise, T.D., J.P. | Ryland, A. C. W. |
| Paget, G. F., M.INST. M. & C.Y.E. | British Electrical Development Assoc.: |
| Beaconsfield U.D.C.: | Dale, V. W. |
| Councillor Rear-Admiral F. Graham | Barnes, P. A. |
| Councillor G. A. Angus | |
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| Beccles, Borough: | Alderman F. Hooker, J.P. |
| Councillor A. E. Pye | Councillor J. M. Symns |
| Hamby, C. L. | Enderby, H. M. |
| Beckhart, F. A. N. | Boyle, J. |
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| Alderman S. B. Morling | Cheale, R. P., M.INST. M. & C.Y.E. |
| Bedwell, C. E. A. | Perkins, A. F. |

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 Cheshire County Council:
 Councillor T. Clayton
 Ashforth, G. E., M.Sc., M.INST.C.E.
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 Dinnis, F. R.
 Banks, Eric
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 Clarke, Mrs. Douglas, West Kent
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 Clevedon U.D.C.:
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 Two delegates
 Chislehurst & Sidcup U.D.C.:
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 Councillor C. E. Norris
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 Hood, J.
 Vickerman, A. D., M.A.
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 England:
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- Davidge, W. R., F.R.I.B.A., P.P.T.P.I.
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 Jones, J. R. A.
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- Durham R.D.C.:
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 Two delegates
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- Fairchild, Edwin C.
 Field, Miss Mary
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 Patterson, F. H.
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 Gimson, Humphrey M., A.R.I.B.A.
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 Guile, John F.
 Gray, T. O.
 Gray, Mrs. T. O.
- Halton, Miss E. E.
 Hamson, H. T.
 Hands, Miss Rina
 (Domestic Fuels and Appliances Com-
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 (Gas Light and Coke Company)
 Harmsworth, Lord
 Harrogate & District Regional Plan-
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 Deed, Miss N. P., B.A.
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 Councillor H. F. Lidster
 Frith, W. A. Cokayne, B.A. (Oxon)

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 Councillor H. E. Shotliff
 Gornall, L. A.
- Spurgin, Mrs.
- Stanley U.D.C.:
 Councillor Mrs. M. J. Eager
 Councillor J. F. McAninly
- Stroud U.D.C.:
 Councillor F. L. Daniels
 Councillor W. C. Fluch
 Gibbons, H. S.
 Langley, F. F.
- Stroud, Lt.-Col. F. L., R.E.
- Surrey Federation of Labour Parties:
 County Councillor Tom Braddock,
 F.R.I.B.A.
- Swadlincote District U.D.C.:
 Baker, G. S.
- Swindon Borough:
 Thompson, J. B. L., M.C., M.INST.C.E.
- Taunton, Borough:
 Alderman F. S. Dodson
- Tennant, Mrs. Peter
- Tewkesbury, Borough:
 Councillor B. J. Dyer
 Sharp, A. M., M.INST. M. & CY.E.
- Todmorden, Borough:
 Councillor Percy Sutcliffe
 Garratt, H.
- Turner, C. A. Charlewood, A.R.I.B.A.
- Turner, Mrs. C. A. Charlewood
- Town & Country Planning Association:
 Baldwin, Miss E., Business Sec.
 Keable, Mrs. G., Conference Sec.
 McAllister Mrs., E., Public Relations
 Officer
- Uttoxeter U.D.C.:
 Councillor G. J. W. Moseley
 Councillor S. Lunnun
- Warminster U.D.C.:
 Councillor David Vesey
 Edwards, Wilfred H.
- Washington U.D.C.:
 Councillor S. Purvis
- Watts, G. Goddard
- West Sussex County Council:
 Robinson, M. W., F.S.I., M.T.P.I.
 Baker, S. H., A.M.I. & CY.E., A.M.T.P.I.
- Webb, County Councillor W. H. F.
- Wellington (Salop) U.D.C.:
 Councillor Cecil Lowe
- Wembley, Borough:
 Trapp, C. S., B.SC., A.M.I.C.E.
- West Suffolk, County:
 Munsey, L. G. H.
- Whitby U.D.C.:
 Seaton, Gray
- Whitehaven, Borough:
 Alderman W. Stephenson
 Wilson, Arthur
 Bone, T. C.
- Willcocks, C. Birdwood, F.R.I.B.A.
- Wilcox, Percival M.
- Somerset Rural Community Council
- Wimborne Minster U.D.C.:
 Councillor F. O. Day
 Prance, C. W.
- Wirral U.D.C.:
 Roberts, Wm. F.
- Wisbech, Borough:
 Alderman W. V. Fundrey
 Councillor A. W. Collett
 Wootton, G. J.
- Siddall, J. E., LL.M., D.P.A.
- Wolverton U.D.C.:
 Councillor E. S. D. Moore, J.P.
 Councillor W. H. Lee
- Worcester, City:
 Grieves, T.
- Yeovil, Borough:
 Alderman A. H. J. Stroud, J.P.
 McMillan, A. R.
- York, Major
- Ystradgynlais R.D.C.:
 Councillor J. Price Evans, J.P.
 Evans, W. Edgar, F.S.I.

